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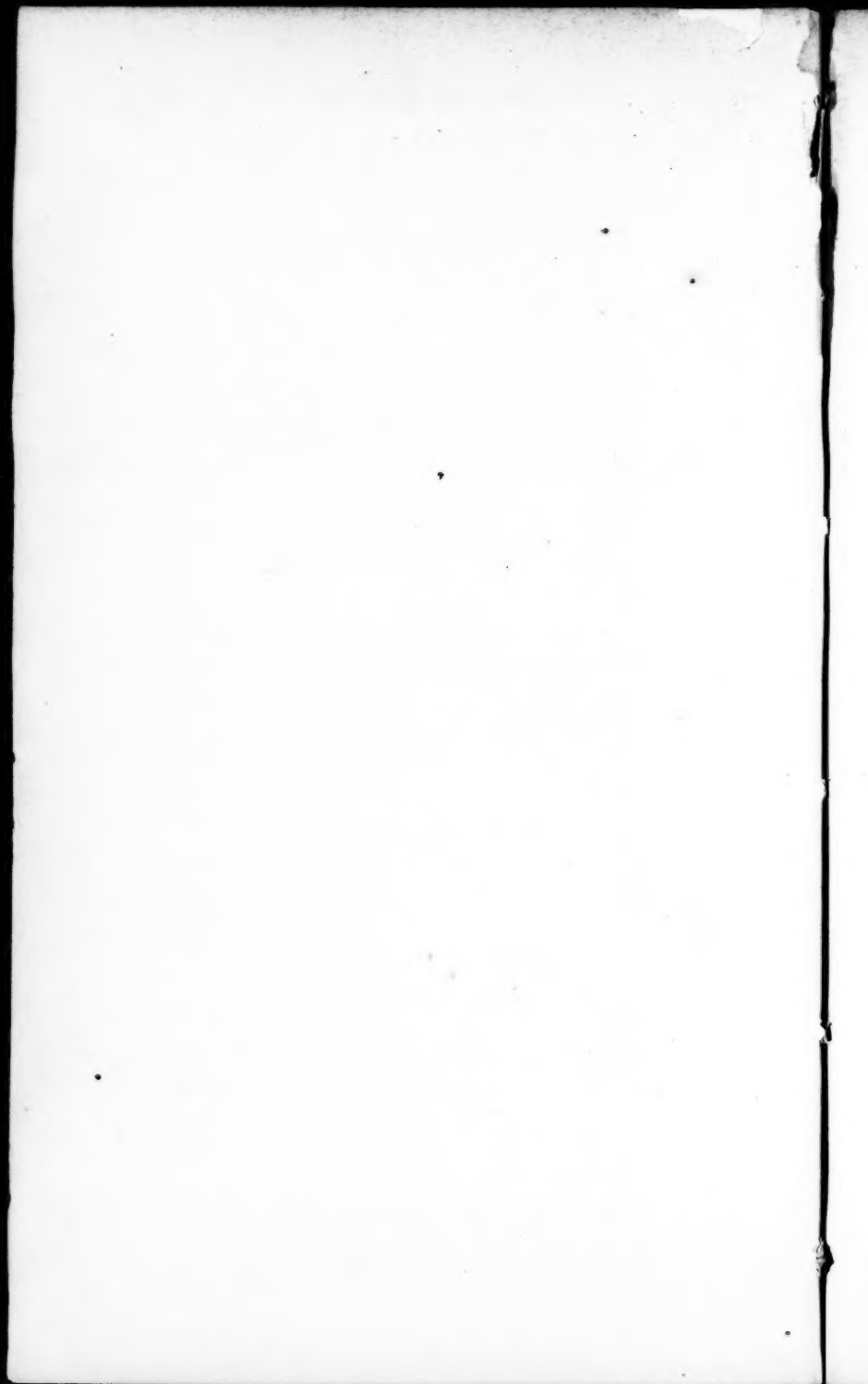
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THE
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ART. I.—*Italy in the Nineteenth Century, contrasted with its past Condition.* By JAMES WHITESIDE, Esq., A.M., M.R.I.A., one of her Majesty's Council. In three vols. London, Bentley, 1848.

THERE is perhaps no profession, from the members of which, as writers, we are naturally led to expect so much, as that of the law. Involuntarily, Cicero's description of the qualities necessary to form the perfect advocate, rises to our mind; and we look to find in the lawyer, combined with the acuteness of intellect necessary to fit him for his peculiar studies, the learning of the scholar, and the varied information and good taste of the gentleman. The title, too, of Mr. Whiteside's book, is attractive; Italy, its present contrasted with its past condition; no mere catalogue of palaces and works; no poetical description of the dress and manners of the people, their mere external condition; the social state of Italy is to be described, its inner life, in all its varied forms, to be laid open before us. In this point of view, we confess we have been disappointed. A keen observer, Mr. Whiteside has marked well what struck the eye, and has added to his own limited stores of information some details relative to the laws, agriculture, benevolent institutions, history, and literature, of the different states, collected from sources of very various degrees of merit. But his information on each of these subjects is only a compilation from some one or two recent works, which have been in the hands of every one, and which afford no new information. Indeed, we may at once predict how far Mr. White-

side's ideas on any subject will be correct or well founded, from looking to see the name of his one authority; and as we scan the well known quotations, we involuntarily exclaim with Boileau's Canon in the *Lutrin*, "Un diner rechauffé ne valut jamais rien."

Thus, on Tuscan agriculture, he gives the observations of Raumer and of Laing; on benevolent institutions, he translates the excellent work of Turchetti; his account of the Tuscan laws is good, for it is an abridged translation of Ademollo. The history of Florence, which occupies one half of the first volume, is a diluted extract from Sismondi.

This leads us to speak of the capital sin of Mr. Whiteside's volumes, the unsparing use which he makes of the works of others. No doubt occasional quotation in illustration or confirmation adds a double charm to a work; but of the three volumes before us, fully one-half consists of lengthy extracts from the works of Mackintosh, Laing, Lady Morgan, Gibbon, Corinne Canina, &c., besides abridged translations of the works of Turchetti, Ademollo, Azeglio, and others. This defect has been so fully enlarged upon by more than one of our contemporaries, that we shall not add another word; but there are some other faults of book-making to be remarked even more reprehensible, because more hidden. In the first volume, (p. 29), he gives a long life of Virgil, which might have been taken from the preface to some school edition, and at page 375 inflicts a disquisition on the Areopagus, the Greek, Hebrew, and Roman law, apropos of a new Tuscan code. In the third volume he seems to share the mistake of most late-learners, that what is new to him must also be new to others, and favours us with copious extracts from the *Promessi Sposi* of Manzoni, a work which is now to be found in every circulating library, and which may be had complete in an English dress for five shillings.*

In the first volume Mr. Whiteside leads us through the Tyrol, of the inhabitants of which he forms a pretty high

* We must point out a false translation in one of these extracts, by which a great beauty of the original is lost. The true translation of the end of the paragraph, (p. 144), is, "Even had not the likeness of the two countenances made it evident, that one which could yet express a feeling would have clearly told it."

estimate, to Tuscany. About one half of the volume is taken up with an account of this kingdom, its capital, its agriculture, its religion, and its benevolent institutions. The account of the city we pass over. The description of Firenze la bella is fairly given; but to the character of the people we must devote a little more space. We have lived amongst them, and appreciated their many good qualities. Mr. Whiteside accuses them, (chaps. 3 and 4), of being idle, knavish, and immoral; but his own work shows on what partial grounds he forms his opinions. Thus he says, "Scarcely a man has resided a year in Italy, without being compelled to form a low opinion of the morals and character of the domestic servants with whom he is necessarily thrown in contact." From this, and some sensible remarks of Mr. Cooper, he concludes: "Surely the moral depravity of a large class of people in Italy tells against the general character of the country. We may say without impropriety, Italy is below Germany, France, and Belgium, in honesty and morality of conduct." But had Mr. Whiteside, instead of judging of the character of a nation from knavish boarding-house servants and valets de place, studied the great masses of the people themselves, had he visited the houses, and enquired into the character of the small farmers, the labourers, and the operatives, he would have met, as we did, with hospitality, frankness, and honesty. A note, (page 124,) shows that, even in the simple matter of the condition of the small farmers, he was content to trust to the reports of others, when he might any day have decided the matter for himself, by entering the houses of the honest contadini, who would assuredly have given him a hearty welcome, and a share of their humble repast.

The only manufactures Mr. Whiteside mentions, are those of silk, paper, straw-bonnets, and wool. Now, although Tuscany does not possess the gigantic factories of England, she manufactures nearly every article which she requires herself. There are near Florence excellent manufactories of china, (established by the present Grand Duke,) of earthenware, carpets, hats, &c., &c, and extensive copper mines, chiefly the property of an English Catholic gentleman.

A great portion of this volume, and by far the most valuable part of it, is the account of the benevolent institu-

tions of Tuscany, taken from the work of Signor Turchetti. Tuscany is celebrated for the number and excellence of these foundations, so peculiarly the fruit of the Catholic religion.

"The authors I have referred to, ascribe, and fairly, these amazing exertions in the divine work of beneficence to the influence of religion, and there cannot be a doubt that the Roman Catholic Church and its ministers inculcate zealously on the minds of their congregations the great duty of practical benevolence, and of almsgiving, and their teaching is nobly responded to by all classes of the people. Ladies of the highest rank in Rome visit the poor in assigned districts, and relieve their wants. They do not visit in their finery and carriages, but in humility, and in company with a female much below them in rank, but a member of the same benevolent society. In this fashion the late princess Borghese, (a daughter of Lord Shrewsbury,) whose memory is revered in Rome, accompanied by a lady, from whose daughter I heard the fact, visited and relieved the indigent and sick."

And we are proud to add, not the virtuous princess Borghese alone, but many other ladies, both Irish and English, visit the sick in Rome, both in the hospitals, and at their homes. In 1847, Cardinal Mezzofanti mentioned to a friend of ours his having met two Irish ladies, whom we had the honour of knowing, by the bed-side of a poor countrywoman in one of the hospitals. There exists a confraternity of ladies attached to the church of the *Trinità dei Monti*, called of the *Enfans de Marie*, chiefly composed of foreigners, who visit and relieve the indigent and sick. And those who in the evening adorned the gilded saloons of the *Doria* or the *Rospigliosi*, may be seen in the morning treading the dark lanes by the *Ripetta*, or the *Piazza Farnese*, to seek out the bashful poor. Compare these facts with the last report of the "*Travellers'-Friend Society*"* in London; a society which allows five per cent. to its collectors, in order to obtain its funds, and pays a large staff of visitors to execute its charity. Yet, say not that it is the difference of the country, or the customs of the people, which makes the contrast. In this very city of London in which we write, as in Mr. Whiteside's own city of Dublin, and in many others of the empire, exists a society of those who 'do good by stealth, and blush to find

* See *Daily News* of Nov. 18, 1848.

it fame.' The society of S. Vincent of Paul, composed of young men in the world of all ranks, who give to the poor, not fair words and sympathy, for those all give; not their money, for that many give; but their time. Two and two they visit the sick and poor in their own homes, and seek out, like ministering angels, the suffering members of Christ.

There are some of the Italian charities to which we would wish to draw peculiar attention, for from nothing can the character of a people be better judged, than from their charitable institutions. Mr. Whiteside, indeed, asserts, that a people are to be judged by their laws; but the sagacious authors of the *Cenni Statistici* truly remark:

"Laws are often the work of a few, caused often by extraneous circumstances, or the views and interests of the alternately predominant parties: charitable foundations on the contrary, spontaneous and well meditated, develop the thoughts, the desires of the mass, the wants which are deemed most urgent, in a word, the moral state of a people, its inner life, the empire of its religious and social principles."

In our remarks we shall consider together the charitable institutions of the different Italian States: of those of Rome, Mr. Whiteside appears to have a very imperfect knowledge, notwithstanding that he mentions Mgr. Morichini's (not Monichini's) work; of those of Genoa, some of the best regulated in Europe, he takes hardly any notice whatever.*

Amongst the charitable institutions of Italy, none is more strange to English ideas, and yet none more consonant with the precepts of the gospel, than that of the confraternity of the *Misericordia*, founded to enable those in the world to fulfil the gospel precept of feeding the hungry, of visiting the sick, and of burying the dead. We cannot give a better account of it than that of Turchetti, as we find it in Mr. Whiteside's pages:

"This sacred institution is not much known throughout Italy.

* Especially the great institution of the *Albergo dei Poveri*. This establishment publishes a most valuable statistical report every five years. Our quotations are taken from that for 1841, entitled, *Cenni statistici sull' interna amministrazione dell' Albergo dei Poveri in Genova.* 1841.

Praised even by the sceptical writers of France, commendable for the exalted charity and religious self-denial of its members, headed by our sovereign, the confraternity of mercy in our capital has ever been foremost in works of love. The object is, according to its statutes, to assist mankind in sudden emergencies, its members hastening night and day, and in all weathers, to take up in the streets or houses, persons struck down by illness or accident, to convey them to the hospital if sick, or to bury them in case of death; to assist at any time the sick of all conditions; to change their bed and linen, &c.; to administer pecuniary aid to the poor; and in order that the members of the confraternity be more pure and unaffected by the gratitude of those receiving help, they are unknown, concealed by a vestment which covers the whole of their body, not excepting the face. In all the plagues which scourged our capital, the brethren gave proofs of heroic virtue, and when in 1632, the date of the last pestilence, the members visited the churches to thank God they had been protected in the hour of danger, they were accompanied by the ringing of bells and acclamations of the people.

"This confraternity is provided with a convenient place of meeting, is composed of seventy-two leaders, *capi di guardia*, and two hundred and three brethren. A large bell is in every place at the disposal of the members, and this serves to notify the kind of calamity that has happened, and the service to be rendered. The moment the *capi di guardia* receive intelligence of some calamity, they ascertain the fact, then toll the bell, and numbers of the brethren dress and assemble. The bell once tolled, indicates a light misfortune, twice, a serious wound, thrice, death. The sick are conveyed at any hour of the day to the hospital, the dead in the evening only, for interment."—Vol. i. p. 213.

To the remarks which follow the above, quoted from John Bell, on the danger of increase of sin from the belief in the possibility of expiation, we need make no answer. The brethren of the *Misericordia* do not believe that they may sin, because they exercise mercy; but they believe that to the merciful, God will show mercy.

This account of the confraternity also enables us to correct an error into which Mr. Whiteside has fallen, with regard to the disposal of the dead in Tuscany. He says:

"Their mode of disposing of their dead amongst the poor, is somewhat repulsive. In the evening, the bodies are conveyed by torch-light to a church, attended by monks chanting a dirge, then the remains are deposited, and the friends depart and see no more of the matter. During the night a cart arrives, the bodies are placed on it, and either, as suspected, reserved for dissection, or, as

the Americans say, *dumped* from the cart into a common pit outside the town."—Vol. i. p. 99.

In Tuscany the bodies are borne to the grave by the members of the charitable confraternity; there is a peculiar law prohibiting interments, except at night; and many a time have we met the funeral processions at night outside the walls of Florence and Leghorn, distinguishable by the long line of burning tapers, while the sound of sacred psalmody floated on the breezes of the night.

On the great question of the utility of foundling hospitals, Mr. Whiteside is brief and decisive; he condemns them as immoral and destructive to human life. (Vol. i. p. 194; vol. iii. p. 268.) Without entering into the wide question of the general influence of these institutions, we may safely conclude with Mgr. Morichini, that whatever arguments may be advanced on the score of political economy, christian charity will ever plead strongly in favour of the miserable foundlings. It is not, however, true, that these institutions are attended with an increase of immorality; leaving out of the calculation France, where a deluge of infidelity has produced an overwhelming increase of vice, we find that in Tuscany, the number of foundlings, although it rapidly increased at first on the improvements being introduced into the management of the hospitals, has only increased in the decennial periods, from 10,381, the number from 1800 to 1810, to 12,619 from 1830 to 1840; while the population in the same time has increased from one million to a million and a half, and the number of legitimate admissions had greatly diminished; showing, that misery is the most potent cause in promoting the exposure of infants, a point which is further confirmed by the fact remarked by Gooja, (ap. Morichini, vol. i. p. 287), that the number of foundlings is greater in years of scarcity, although the total number of births is less. In estimating the number of foundlings in Tuscany, it is to be borne in mind that a great number come from neighbouring states, where there are no foundling hospitals. The mortality, great in all countries and at all times, at this age, and amongst those exposed to so many hardships ere they reach the hospital, had rapidly diminished from 8592, in the ten years 1800 to 1810, down to 6363 from 1830 to 1840.

In Rome, too, a large proportion come from the neigh-

bouring provinces of Sabina, Maritima, and Campagna, and from the kingdom of Naples. This must be taken into account in estimating the number, and also the mortality. In Rome, the number received at Santo Spirito in 1831, was 831; in 1840, 922; in 1846, 916; whilst the deaths were in 1830, 682; in 1840, 740; in 1846, 696. The large proportion of deaths is to be attributed chiefly to the unhealthiness of the children when received, as they are at once put out to nurse in the country. In the report of the Genoa hospital which is before us, the number of children exposed does not directly appear; but it may easily be gathered from the number put out to nurse, which was in 1841, 148; in 1843, 115; in 1845, 75; whilst the deaths were only one in each of the years 1841 and 1845; in 1842, 6; in 1844, 3, (cen. stat.) thus clearly proving that the increase of prosperity and of religion in Genoa, as it recovered from the sad effects of the French invasion, had gradually reduced the number of foundlings, whilst the system continued the same; for all children up to ten years of age, whether orphans, foundlings, or whose parents cannot maintain them, are at once received into the *Albergo dei Poveri*. (Cen. Stat. Introd. p. 16.) Yet this is the country which Mr. Whiteside describes (vol. iii. p. 188) as swarming with lazy monks, and as more priest-ridden than even Rome itself.

Of the influence of religion in diminishing the exposure of children, a striking proof is given by Morichini, (p. 288); in the year of the Jubilee 1825, the number of foundlings was only 679, whilst the mean of other years was 834. We may conclude this subject with the following sensible remarks from the same author :

“The most efficacious means to diminish the number of foundlings, in my opinion, would be to increase the comforts of the lower classes of the population, by which means marriages would be increased, and illegitimate connexions dissolved : to open asylums for infants,* in order that the poor might leave their children in them during the day, and not be distracted by the care of their children from the labour necessary to earn their bread : to strengthen the moral character of the people, especially of the women, by instruction suited to their condition ; in fine, to implant

* What we call in England infant schools. An excellent one was founded in Rome by the Princess Adelaide Borghese, in 1841.

in their minds the maxims of religion, which are the strongest curb upon licentiousness."

There is another class of charitable institutions which abound in Catholic countries, to which Mr. Whiteside seems equally averse; we allude to the houses of refuge for misguided women. At a moment when the public mind of England is beginning to be aroused to the necessity of taking some steps to check that flood of prostitution which inundates our towns, and yearly sucks in thousands of victims into its burning vortex, we naturally look to see what has been effected elsewhere.* In Rome there are several such institutions, as those of the Buon Pastore, Sta. Croce, Sta. Maria Delle Lauretane. The laws too take notice of offences against morality, and female offenders from all parts of the states are confined in the prisons of San Michele. They are divided into three classes; those guilty of crimes against either the person or property, those condemned for a first offence against morality, similar relapsed offenders. To the good effects of these measures, Mr. Whiteside bears a testimony which we can most strongly confirm:

"With respect to the morality of Rome; outwardly it appears to be scrupulously correct, and I believe the descriptions given of the general immorality prevailing in Italian families, in many travellers' books, to be exaggerated or false."—(Vol. iii. p. 268.)

The total number of female offenders confined in San Michele in 1840, was 250. Yet a little before, of 230 prisoners, only twenty were Romans. The prisoners are daily visited by the members of an association of six priests, voluntary and unpaid chaplains, whose exertions have been most successful in effecting conversions. These various asylums contain 118 magdalens, (Morichini, ii. p. 247,) of whom that writer says, "although they may leave the asylum whenever they please, almost all persevere." The success of these institutions in Tuscany appears from Sig. Turchetti's book to be equally great.

The system of giving dowers to poor girls, is one which Mr. Whiteside loudly inveighs against.

"The practice of giving dowers with young girls in marriage, although well meant, leads to many unhappy unions; worthless

* See an article on this subject in the last Quarterly.

men seek these girls to grasp the dowry, then treat them ill and desert their offspring."—Vol. i. p. 195.

On this subject, the directors of the *Albergo dei Poveri* at Genoa well observe:

"The distribution of dowers is a question of controverted utility. Grave as are the objections in an economic point of view, the moral considerations must prevail, and an involuntary celibacy is a social evil which demands a remedy."

Practically, however, the objections are much diminished in force; for as dowers are only given to those who have been well educated, the young girls are sought rather for their own good qualities than for the dower; on this point the evidence of Sig. Turchetti is clear:

"The good education they receive, the character they bear, the trade they understand, the dower of sixty dollars (£12) they receive, are attractions so great, that very few of them grow old in the hospital."*—Tur. ap. *Whiteside*, vol. i. p. 199.

Mr. *Whiteside's* summing up on the benevolent institutions of Tuscany is as follows:—

"We have thus completed our survey of the charitable institutions of Tuscany; the political economist may be of opinion that most of such establishments have a mischievous tendency even when well conducted. Others will perhaps select some of the Tuscan institutions for praise or imitation, and may condemn the

* The same effects are found at Genoa and at San Michele, and other institutions in Rome. We must here mention an injustice of which Mr. *Whiteside* is guilty towards the excellent prelate, Card. Tosti, who rules the last mentioned noble establishment, and to whom much of its prosperity is owing. He says, (vol. iii. p. 265,) "the splendid front to the river is wholly occupied with the palace of the cardinal governor."

He should have added, that of the suite of rooms, only three small ones are used by the cardinal himself, while the rest form an excellent gallery of sculpture, painting, and engraving, which he has collected for the use of the youths in the hospital, and which is always open to them, to copy, furnish studies, &c. A large portion of this collection consists of presents from grateful students who had been educated in San Michele, and who sent, when successful in life as artists, some of their best works as testimonies of gratitude to the asylum of their youth, and him who had been their munificent protector.

rest: all will applaud the spirit of boundless benevolence from which they sprung.

"It might be a curious enquiry to trace what amount of the crime of Tuscany may be ascribed to the charitable institutions, or the effects which follow from them."

Of those of Rome he says:

"I have been accustomed, in Italy, to connect the crime and poverty of the people, in some measure, with their benevolent institutions."

Thus, Mr. Whiteside's ideas as to the repression of vice, seem to be, to leave foundlings to perish, to abandon the unhappy victims of seduction to their fate, to leave the dead unburied, prisoners unvisited, but to build high the prison and the gallows: haply those who have examined into the condition of the country, may doubt whether the system which crowds our cities with abandoned females, which abandons the children of our working classes to Godfrey's elixir and burying societies, and commits our poor to the tender mercies of Andover Union workhouses, be the better one.*

A great portion of Mr. Whiteside's first volume, is occupied with a History of Florence, which he gives apparently in the belief that as Roscoe's life of Lorenzo the Magnificent, and Sismondi's view of the same subject were new to him, they must be equally so to his readers, (see pref. p. 7.) Into the general merits of this sketch we shall not enter; it has been well and justly censured by a contemporary, (the Quarterly,) but the character of the virtuous and celebrated Savonarola is so distorted in Mr. Whiteside's pages, that we must endeavour in a few words to place this great man in his true light. This is the more important, as in the pages of Roscoe he appears as a mad fanatic, while the author of the life of Luther, who is followed by our author, claims him as a Protestant, and the precursor of Luther. Mr. Whiteside's favourite plan for the conversion of Italy to the true light of Protestant-

* It appears from the evidence adduced in the Times some time back, that the London workhouses are nurseries of vice; and Mr. Whiteside need only visit the South Dublin workhouse in his own city, and enquire how many of the children brought up there are afterwards to be met with on the streets of Dublin.

ism, and the destruction of the monastic orders, is the republication of the life of Leopold, that of Scipio Ricci, bishop of Pistoja and Prato, and that of Savonarola: of the latter however, he wisely adds, "it might be well to draw up afresh a narrative of his life."* To correct the mistakes in Mr. Whiteside's account would be a tedious process, the following brief sketch, taken chiefly from Turon's *Histoire des Hommes illustres de l'ordre de S. Dominique*, will enable the reader to judge for himself. †

"Jerome Savonarola was born at Ferrara, of a good family, on the 21st of September, 1452. Pious from his youth, in his twenty-second year he entered the order of St. Dominic. ‡ Very different from the licentious monk, the founder of the Reformation, of him it is said: 'The practice of obedience and evangelical poverty seemed to cost him nothing, and by a strict renouncing of everything which could flatter the flesh or the passions, he preserved to the tomb the precious treasure of a spotless chastity.'"—Turon, tom. iii. p. 575.

Italy, says the prince of Miranda, needed a man of apostolic zeal; the laws of God were forgotten or neglected, luxury, impiety, avarice, simony, irreligion reigned in almost every state and every condition; in Jerome they found a zealous antagonist, who, without forgetting the respect due to those in authority, denounced vice wherever he found it. When he was in his twenty-seventh year, St. Francis of Paula, in answer to a letter addressed to him by Jerome, gave the following remarkable prophecy of his life and fate:

"This excellent man will reform several monasteries of his order—will instruct and edify the public by several excellent works. But as the number of ungrateful and impious men is

* Mr. Whiteside will, we hope, and our readers will, we are sure, be glad to learn that a learned Irish ecclesiastic is at present engaged on a translation of Savonarola's great work, "*Triumphus crucis*."

† Turon's life is chiefly derived from the life of Jerome, by his friend, the prince John Francis Picus della Miranda.

‡ We may here remark an instance of ignorance which Lord Brougham would denominate crass. In p. 276, Mr. W. denominates Savonarola "a monk of Augustine;" in p. 279, he says that both he and Luther were monks, and belonged to the same order of Dominicans.

great, this holy man will be falsely accused to the Pope, and false crimes be imputed to him; on the testimony of false witnesses he will be thrown into prison, fastened to a stake between two of his companions, and burnt after his death, and his ashes thrown into the Arno."—Letter of St. Francis ap. Bzov. Hist. Eccl. tom. xviii. p. 361.

During his whole career Jerome appears to have had his fearful end ever before his eyes; not to deter, but to animate; and when offered the purple, he answered, "*Galerum flammeum non opto, non quaero nisi quem proprio sanguine rubricavero, faxit Deus in martyrio.*"—Ap. Bzovi ad an. 1497. Called to Florence to preach in the church of St. Mark, belonging to his order, he produced numerous conversions among the licentious citizens of that town: but although he studiously avoided personalities in his discourses, he could not avoid giving offence to the immoral Lorenzo di Medici, who had then overthrown the liberty of Florence by corruption, and who felt himself reproved in the denunciation of vice. He was additionally incensed that Jerome, an ardent lover of his country's freedom, on his nomination as Prior of St. Mark's should decline to comply with the lately established custom of doing homage to the Medici.—(Turon, p. 885.)

From this moment began the contest between the humble friar and the haughty Medici, who felt that their ill got power was never secure whilst Jerome preached against the corruption on which it was founded.

In his last illness, Lorenzo, touched with compunction, sent for Jerome to hear his confession. Politian (Hist. Eccl. lib. 117. v. 35.) asserts that he died penitent attended by Jerome. Picus della Miranda, on the contrary, asserts that Jerome required of him, 1st, whether he held the true faith; 2nd, to make restitution of those riches which he might have acquired unjustly: to both these Lorenzo gave satisfactory answers; he then required that he should give liberty to his country, and restore the Florentine Republic to its pristine state; to this (he adds,) having given no answer he soon after departed this life. (Pic. della Mir: Bzovi ap. Turon.)

Soon after Jerome went to Bologna to preach, but returned after a few months to Florence; where, in 1494, the whole city was thrown into confusion and dismay, after the flight of Peter de Medici, by the approach of Charles

the Eighth of France at the head of a formidable army. It was then for the first time, that in this hour of his country's peril, Jerome mingled in secular affairs; and his eloquence as ambassador saved Florence, and enabled the citizens to restore the republic,* which, by his prudent advice, they established on a new and wise plan. See his own account of the matter in his discourses, his abridgment of revelations in Bzovius.

From that hour Jerome was looked up to by the Florentines as the main support and oracle of the Republic, and when Charles on his return again menaced their city, Jerome again went out to meet the king, and turned him away from his projects; keeping the Florentines firm in their alliance with the French king.

But as the evil ever hate the good, the envious did not cease to persecute the servant of God; their first efforts were directed against the congregation of St. Mark of his order, which, under the protection of Card. Oliver Caraffa, he had established in Tuscany. In answer to his accusers, he pronounced a noble defence of himself before the people of Florence; and for a time the calumniators were silent. At this period Alexander VI. (Borgia) disgraced the chair of St. Peter; and although Jerome, in denouncing the vices of the clergy, ever observed that respect which was due to the exalted position of the Roman Pontiff, however personally unworthy, Alexander could not endure his apostolic freedom in denouncing vice, and forbade him in 1496 to preach the approaching Lent in Florence, but to exercise his ministry in some other town. Jerome immediately prepared to obey, answering to those who sought to oppose his resolution, that obedience was always agreeable to God; but the senate and people earnestly besought the Pope to withdraw his prohibition, which he at last did, and Jerome preached the Lent in Florence with admirable fruit.—(Bzovi, p. 433. col. 2. ap. Turon.)

The prohibition was, however, again renewed, and again withdrawn; so in 1497 Philip Corbi, an inveterate enemy

* "Ad regem usque penetravit Carolum ne Florentiam opprimeret, neve quidpiam contra libertatem civium moliretur interpellavit, tanto cum fructu ut decreta feralia rex revocaverit et paucis post diebus Florentiâ discesserit, Savonarolæ persuasionibus restituta libertate Florentinis."—Bzovi ap. Turon.

of Jerome, being named head of the Senate, an assembly of Abbots, Doctors, Theologians and others, was convened to try him. He however successfully defeated their attacks, or as his biographer expresses it, "obstruxit os scrutantium iniqua."*—(MS. Life of Savon. ap. Turon.)

But his opponents, the Arrabiati, as they were called, (composed chiefly of the licentious noble youths,) continued to excite every species of disturbance against him, and even attacked him in the pulpit, and poisoned the foot of the crucifix he was in the habit of kissing. One of his sermons against simony and other vices of the clergy, having still more enraged Alexander against him, the Pope again prohibited him from preaching, and summoned him to Rome; and on his not appearing, prevented by his friends, who feared his assassination on the road, pronounced a sentence of excommunication against him: 1st, for not having obeyed the citation; 2nd, for having taught heretical doctrine; 3rd, for having opposed the union of the congregation of St. Mark with that of Lombardy. The humble monk at once obeyed, and retired to his monastery, contenting himself with sending a letter to the Pope, stating that he had never received any citation, that he had never taught any heretical doctrine, that he had never preached against the Pope, which he denominates a high treason. See his letter of the 21st May, 1497, and that of the magistrates of Florence, 4th May, 1497, ap. Turon. The Pope himself allowed his reasons for not going to Rome, and freed him from all censures by his letter of the 16th Oct. same year, (from the diary of Burchard, Prothonotary Apostolic ap. Turon,) repeating his injunctions to abstain from preaching. It was then that Jerome was guilty of the only act of disobedience to the orders of his superiors which marked his career: on the first Sunday after Epiphany, 1498, yielding to his own zeal and the solicitations of the magistrates, he once more ascended the pulpit in the great church of Florence. From that hour to the hour of his death, his

* About this time the epithet of *Piagnoni*, (or weepers, from their penitential tears,) appears to have been given in derision to the disciples of Savonarola, and from them to have been extended to the whole party of Republicans. The term does not appear to have been understood by Mr. W.

enemies gave him no peace. The Pope renewed his menaces; the new magistrates, elected the first of March, 1498, were his enemies; the people were persuaded that Savonarola, by his attachment to the French, was an obstacle to their recovering Pisa, the darling object of their wishes. Jerome prepared himself for the martyrdom which St. Francis had predicted to him twenty years before, and wrote a pathetic letter to the Pope, ending with these words:

"This general conspiracy cannot weaken my confidence in him, who hath chosen the weak things of this world, that he might confound the strong; and who will defend his own cause. After the example of Jesus Christ, I have not sought, and I seek not my own glory: I now expect only death, and I desire it."—Florence, 13 March, 1498.

One of the Monks of St. Mark challenged his accusers to enter the fire with him, as a proof of Savonarola's innocence. The challenge was accepted by a Franciscan, but ended in nothing. A furious mob of the Arrabiati attacked the convent of St. Mark, but not succeeding, the magistrates induced Jerome, by a promise of a safe conduct, to trust himself into their hands. On the night of Palm Sunday, he was, in violation of his promise, cast into prison; fifteen of his enemies were named as commissaries to try him. They applied the most cruel tortures, but "Jerome bore all with constancy, and they could not wring from him a single avowal which contradicted what he had hitherto said or done. Amidst the most cruel sufferings he hardly ever uttered but these words: 'God, take my life.' And when they ceased to torment him, he fell upon his knees and prayed for his executioners."—(Continuator of Fleury Hist. Eccl. lib. 119, n. 16.)

Alexander VI. had written to have Jerome sent to him to Rome; but finding that could not be done, he sent two judges to Florence, who again tortured him without effect and condemned him to death, May 22, 1498. The next day he, with two of his companions, were hung and then burned, and their ashes cast into the Arno.—(Ibid.)

"Thus ended (in his 46th year) his short and laborious career, this man beloved of God, so many years justly considered as the apostle and prophet of his age, and the intrepid defender of public liberty."—Turon.

His principal works are, his *Triumph of the Cross*, or of the truth of religion, a treatise on the Pater and the Ave Maria, a treatise on the Sacrifice of the Mass and its mysteries, a letter on Frequent Communion, and on the benefits accorded to Christians by the mystery and the sign of the cross, many sermons, discourses, homilies on scripture, &c. As to the charge of heresy, it is sufficiently absolved by the opinion of Pope Paul the Third. (Ap. Bzovi. p. 520, col. i.)* His manner of treating books opposed to faith or morals, would hardly have suited Mr. Whiteside's notions of liberty, although perhaps not opposed to common sense.

"Others found fault with him, that he had publicly burned a great number of bad books and obscene or scandalous prints, which even Pagans would not have suffered in a well regulated republic." —Turon.

From the above sketch of his life, it will appear that Savonarola held all the doctrines of that church, of whose ascetic practices he was so bright an example; that he respected the Vicar of Christ even in an unworthy Pope; and that, as Spondanus says,

"Illustrious for the purity of his life and doctrine, he boldly denounced the vices of men, whether ecclesiastics or seculars, which were then enormous and apparent to all."—(Spond. an. 1492, n. 14, ap. Turon.)

The second Catholic ecclesiastic, whose life Mr. Whiteside recommends to be republished as easy lessons in Protestantism, is Bishop Ricci. We may, perhaps, on some future occasion, return to the life of this prelate; but our notice of the life of Savonarola has run to such a length, that we can only remind our readers that M. Scipio Ricci was one, who, raised to the episcopacy by the holy Pope Pius the Sixth, to whom he swore fealty and obedience,

"Surrounded by evil men that had blinded him in order to make use of him for their own wicked ends, undertook with them to overturn in his synod, (that of Pistoja,) the ancient established laws. You can imagine whether that was a just subject of affliction to the paternal heart of the holy father, as it is now for Mgr.

* Bzovius adds: "Ab exceptorum manu aliqua in paucas coniciones irreperunt Romana correctione non indigna." 484, col. i.

Scipio himself."—(Risposta del P. F. Filippo Anfossi Domenicano alle lettere del signor dela Plat, &c. tom. i. p. 185. Rome, 1805.

He found, however, few partisans of his courtly doctrines among the Bishops of Tuscany,* and several erroneous propositions extracted from the acts of the Synod were condemned by Pius VI. in the Bull *Auctorem fidei*.†

In the second volume, Mr. Whiteside leads us to Rome; of the routes to that capital he gives a good description. In Rome, of course, Mr. Whiteside's mistakes accumulate and multiply; indeed, time would fail us to enumerate or correct them all; we can only hurriedly run over a few of the remarkable ones.

A great portion of the volume is taken up with descriptions of the antiquities of Rome; a task which Mr. Whiteside seems to have learned out of Canina, and translated for the benefit of his readers. We say from Canina, because he seems hardly acquainted with other authorities on the subject. Thus, speaking of the Forum, he lays down its exact position and extent with as much ease as though he were speaking of Trafalgar Square; with hardly a word of reference to the different theories of Bunsen, Nibby, Niebuhr, Nardoni, Donati, &c. He does not seem to be aware of the identity of the pillar which he calls "that known as the column of Phocas," p. 245, with Byron's "nameless pillar with a buried base." Neither does he mention the opinion that the remains commonly called the Baths of Livia, (vol. ii. p. 242.)

* Padre Sopranzi, the great defender of the bishops and synod of Pistoja, allows, "If we observe the body of pastors, it was never of his party: of the bishops of the grand duke, subject to the same prince, there were only four or five, when the court protected and favoured him, and these, too, when circumstances deserted him, at least in part."

† See his life by his great advocate, De Potter, (Paris, 1826,) and an excellent article in the *Biographie Universelle*, (Paris, 1824.) He adopted the errors of the Jansenists, and advocated the attacks made on religion by the Constitutional Assembly in France, in 1795. By his misconduct he caused two insurrections at Prato; and thrown into prison by the Florentines, for having abetted the French in the invasion of their country in 1799, he was delivered by his zealous opponent, the Archbishop of Florence. He finally surrendered his diocese; and, after many tergiversations, signed an ample retraction of his errors, and died in 1810.

formed part of the golden house of Nero. See Donovan. He speaks of seeing from the villa of Monte Dragone, (not Mondragone), "the heights of Monte Algidio, covered with woods, and Monte Porcia, (Monte Porzio), with the lake Regillus in the distance." Lake Regillus he did not see, for the reason alleged by the governor of Tilbury fort in the critic; "because it is not in sight." The lake is all but dry, and its supposed site, (although much disputed,) is a hollow lying beneath the terrace of Monte Dragone, between it and Monte Porzio.*

Mr. Whiteside professes to have no great taste for the fine arts; we may therefore spare ourselves the labour of wading through his criticisms, of which the reader may form an adequate idea from his proposing to judge of the three great styles of architecture, by comparing St. Peter's, the Pantheon, and Sa. Maria sopra Minerva—the most glorious church in the world of one style, with a fragment of a Roman building, and one of the most imperfect specimens of gothic architecture in Italy.

In Sa. Maria degli Angeli, too, he overlooks the exquisite statue of St. Bruno, of which it was said that it would speak were it not against the rule of his order. That in visiting the Coliseum he should think of the Roman shows there exhibited, and never of the humble Christians who there died—of Titus, or of Domitian, but not of St. Ignatius, or of St. Clement—is no more to be wondered at than that in the Mamertine he should see only the shade of Cataline or Jugurtha, not the mild forms of SS. Peter and Paul. His book contains hardly one word on the catacombs, those memorials so dear to the Christian, who feels himself linked in the bond of faith to those who there lived, and whose ashes there await a blessed resurrection.

We cannot say that his estimate of modern Rome and its inhabitants shows more enlarged views; it is too much marked by the cockneyism which measures everything by

* Arnold places it somewhat nearer Colonna than Donovan. He says: "The lake of Regillus is now a small and weedy pool, surrounded by crater-like banks, and with much lava or basalt about it, situated at some height above the plain, on the right hand of the road as you descend from the high ground under Colonna Labicum, to the ordinary level of the campagna in going to Rome." —Arnold, vol. i. p. 119.

its own foot-rule. The following is a description of a night walk in Rome :

"No pathway,—no lights,—no police,—inconsiderable drawbacks from comfort, some may say, especially those who have enjoyed the luxury of sauntering after dark through the streets of Lisbon. In Rome, if you keep to the Corso, and one or two other places of resort, you have the light from shops, cafés, and a few glimmering lamps to cheer your way. Turn aside, and in a few seconds you are plunged in Cimmerian darkness. Proceed in your walk towards the Lateran, you may quickly exclaim; 'Oh, solitude, where are thy charms!' An occasional passenger to be avoided, may cross your path and excite your courage. The stout young Englishmen wisely walk in the centre of the street buttoned up lightly, and provided with a stick to be depended upon."—Vol. ii. p. 61.

Now, during the winter of 1847, the only case of stabbing, we believe, which occurred in Rome, was that of a thief, who was stabbed by the man he had attempted to rob, in the Via Frattina in the centre of the English quarter, as it is called, and within one hundred yards of the Corso. Since, however, Mr. Whiteside's friends, the ultras, have obtained sway in Rome, and the Pope has been driven out, things are changed; murders are common; and our friends inform us, that going to a dinner party on foot is a service of danger.

We have repeatedly walked through every part of the city at night, from the Lungara in Trastevere and the remote Via Givlia, and never met a robber. The streets of Rome may not boast the bright gas lights of those of London, but neither are they disgraced by the flaming display of vice which pollutes the public ways of this great capital.

From the night we pass to the day, and the first discovery which Mr. Whiteside makes is, that Italian school-boys never laugh, (vol. 2. p. 84.) We can answer for many a hearty laugh with Italian scholars, especially the merry little Clementini. It is true they do not play at cricket or leap-frog, as English lads do: the climate affords little temptation for such exercises, *διαφοροι δε φυσικαι βροτων; διαφοροι δε τροποι*. A walk to the Gesù, and a sudden leap from that to the Noviciate at St. Andrews, leads Mr. Whiteside into mistakes "as thick as leaves in Vallombrosa's shade:"* amongst which is that of attri-

* We recommend Mr. W. to turn to Johnson's dictionary,

buting the Censorship in Rome to the Jesuits. Some of the fathers, as Mr. Glover, were Censors for particular branches, but the licenser of books is the master of the Sacred Palace, who is always a Dominican. There are also, we are glad to say, some English students in the Propaganda, and several Irishmen. Mr. Whiteside mentions, with some circumstances added for poetic effect, the interesting history of Father Rillo: we may briefly add its termination. Father Rillo, together with the ecclesiastic (a Maltese) who had been ordained Bishop, and some others, penetrated into the interior of Africa: there Rillo died of fever caught in attending the sick, but not before he had succeeded in founding the mission, and at present the missionaries have obtained permission to erect a church in the supposed ruins of the capital of the Queen of Sheba. He mentions, in page 195, the curious story of the student in the Propaganda, who succeeded, by forgery, in having himself ordained Bishop. This anecdote is founded on fact, although some of the circumstances mentioned are incorrect, as that the impostor had reached Egypt ere the deceit was discovered. It is a curious fact for the psychologist, that this man, whose ingenuity in executing his plan of imposture was most extraordinary, was one of the dullest students in the College.*

It was of course to be expected that Mr. Whiteside's book would contain many attacks on the Catholic Church; nor should we have thought of noticing them, were they given merely as his individual inferences: but he seems to think that in these days, when the pillars of the Protestant church in England are shaken by Puseyism and Dissent, he is destined to be the mighty champion to overthrow the church of Rome even in its stronghold, and crush those who in the church of England have ventured to exercise their right of private judgment by leaving her.

It were long to go through each detail of his many accusations against the church of his forefathers, and we can only glance hastily at a few of the most prominent.

and he will find that *novice*, not *noviciate*, is one preparing to enter a religious order. This is no false print, for the word is repeated again and again.

* Our authority for this story was the Rector of the Irish college, now Pro Rector of the Propaganda, where he was a student at the time of the occurrence.

As, however, we may be at issue with Mr. Whiteside on more than one matter of fact, it may be as well to enumerate the authorities on which he relies; we have been at considerable pains to collect them, and we find them to be chiefly, an Italian whom he met at an Inn at Trent, and who told him that the Tyrolese constitution was a farce, &c., (vol. 1, p. 33): a priest whom he met at Florence, who certainly gave him some valuable information, as that the custom of perpetually ringing the church bells ought to be abolished, and that the forms in the church are too numerous; he also kindly informed him that the monks are all very ignorant and useless, except the order of Franciscans, (p. 98): a Swiss engineer, (p. 141): a clever physician, who told him that the German Roman Catholics differed more widely from each other than from the Protestants: tradesmen in Rome, (vol. 3, p. 271,) who gave it as their opinion that the priests ought to be allowed to marry. When, however, the authority might appear suspicious, or the "fact" is particularly strong, Mr. Whiteside always volunteers the additional information, that the *informant was as "devout a Catholic as any within the walls of Rome."* These, with a copious allowance of "*on dits*" and "*it is believed,*" and "*many think,*" form the great mass of his facts, and will enable the reader to judge of the value of his assertion, that "*The disclosures which I have made relative to the administration of justice, the church, religion, and morals, are given on authorities not capable of exaggeration or falsehood.*"—*pref.*

Two ideas seem to be uppermost in Mr. Whiteside's mind with regard to the Catholic church. First, that it cannot lay claim to the attribute of Unity, as it differs not only in practices, but in doctrine in different places. Secondly, that it is an enemy to education and the development of intellect. His argument to prove the first is as follows:

"All the Roman Catholic states, which reject some and maintain some of the doctrines, ceremonies, and institutions, taught, practised, and upheld at Rome, are verging to Protestantism, because they reason on these matters, and decide according to their own judgment, regardless of the wish and the authority of the Pope."

Now, if this is intended to mean that the United Greek

or Armenian churches, which hold the Catholic doctrine and acknowledge the Pope, are Protestants, because the ceremonies of their ancient and venerable liturgy differ from those of the Latin rite ; or, that the American colonies must be classed in the same category, because they have not foundling hospitals with wheels ; or the devout flock of the Bishop of New Zealand, because their humble churches but little resemble the stately fabric of St. Peter's ; or the honest Catholics of Bavaria, because their dancing-loving king banished all monks from his dominions at the honourable suggestion of Lola Montez, the conclusion is utterly absurd. If, on the other hand, Mr. Whiteside means that those who reject any of the *doctrines* of the Catholic church, or acknowledge not the authority of its august head, Pius IX., cannot be held to belong to that church, we will not dispute it ; any more than the assertion that they may be classed under the very ambiguous title of Protestants. In this sense we frankly accept the challenge, observing only that it is of nations we speak, not of governments frequently, as in Prussia, Protestant ; in France, Infidel ; in Bavaria, Theatrical. To Mr. Whiteside this distinction may appear insignificant, accustomed as he has been in the good days of ascendancy to hear a small fraction denominated the Irish nation, because they misruled that nation ; to us, who love to study nations, not dynasties, it is of importance. Mr. Whiteside finds, (vol. i. c. 7.) to his great delight, that in France, a government, composed in great part of Infidels and Protestants, prohibits the religious orders, that it monopolizes education, that an avowed infidel professor in the University has written a book against confession which is acted upon by a considerable portion of the immoral population of France, that a Journal edited by Protestants (*Debats*) made "the curious admission, that the preponderance in the world belongs to Protestant principles, and finally, that the government presents for the vacant bishoprics to the Pope, who then exercises his right of appointing or rejecting." (See concordat with France.) In Belgium he discovers that a mixed legislature pay the clergy of the Protestant minority, and that political and religious freedom is established and enforced. We pass over his assertion, as to what "differences of opinion on Catholic doctrines may arise," and the statement that the mis-called liberal party acquires fresh strength

daily. The inaccuracy of the latter at once appears from the fact that the two liberal Universities, although assisted by government, were, in 1847, attended by hardly three hundred students each; while that of Louvain, supported wholly by the Catholics, numbered 800. In Prussia he rejoices to think, that when the archbishop of Cologne ordered his spiritual subjects to refrain from marriages which were considered immoral, he was thrown into prison by a Protestant government, to vindicate the freedom of speech and opinion. He might have added, that a most bitter, though silent persecution has been carried on by this same government against the Catholic inhabitants of the Rhenish provinces. But the archbishop of Cologne conquered though he died; and his present worthy successor as boldly upholds the freedom of his ministry and the authority of the Roman Pontiff. Nor has the government of Berlin failed to experience the retribution of its tyrannies in the lead which Cologne and the Rhenish provinces have taken in the struggle for a free government.

Such are the principal facts upon which Mr. Whiteside founds the proof of his proposition; passing over a mistaken assertion about Nassau, some remarks about the government of Bavaria, and the assertion that "the Bavarian sect of the Roman Catholic church is tolerant and moderate; reformed practically, in many of what are held in Rome as important ceremonies, and even fundamental doctrines." As no instances of these important ceremonies or fundamental doctrines are given, we leave the fact to its own refutation. Mr. Whiteside has not, however, told his readers that from America to Rome, and from Rome to China, the same profession of faith is held, the same creed used; he has not said that in the wigwam of the North American Indian, in the hut of the New Zealander, in the villages of China, and beneath the stately dome of St. Peter's, the same awful sacrifice of the Mass is celebrated with the same rites: that every bishop throughout the world, by whomsoever presented, is nominated by the Pope, and at his consecration swears to him obedience and reverence: that year by year as difficulties arise they are referred to the centre of authority, and its decisions implicitly obeyed. Such was the conduct of the Belgian Bishops with regard to the University of Louvain, mentioned in this Review, (Oct.

1848); that of the French bishops with regard to the University question, and the case of the archbishop of Cologne, mentioned above. He does not seem to be aware that the Catholic clergy of France, supported by the laity, have ever energetically protested against the University system, (see the Pastoral Letter of Mgr. De Bonald, archbishop of Lyons, to which thirty other bishops signified their adhesion, and Discours de M. le cte De Montalembert sur la liberté d'enseignement;) or that the preaching of the Jesuit De Ravignan, and the Dominican Lacordaire* has been more powerful, even in Paris, than the writings of Messrs. Michelet and Quinet.

In Belgium, one of the first acts of the present pious and enlightened Metropolitan, E. Sterckx, archbishop of Mechlin, on his elevation to that see, was to visit Rome, and there found the Belgium college for the education of Belgian priests at the centre of Catholicity.

In Prussia, when the question of mixed marriages arose, it was at once referred to Rome, and to that decision, notwithstanding the imprisonment of their venerable bishop, the Prussian Catholics have steadfastly adhered.† In the American church too, which Mr. Whiteside insinuates (vol. i. p. 137.) differs widely from the Roman, the supremacy of the Roman Pontiff has found one of its most zealous and able defenders, (Dr. Kenrick on the Supremacy.) Nay, during the short time that Mr. Whiteside spent in Rome, he might have seen, in addition to the Primate of Belgium already mentioned, an Archbishop from New South Wales,‡ two bishops from India,§ one from New Zealand,|| one from America,¶ and several

* After a series of discourses given by the former at Notre Dame, in 1846, six hundred young men, chiefly students of the University, received the holy Communion in that church.

† Mr. W. seems (vol. i. p. 179.) to consider it a great instance of intolerance, that when a Catholic marries a Protestant, the children are required to be brought up Catholics: yet, surely he must be an unnatural parent, who would allow his child to be brought up in what he believed to be error.

‡ Dr. Polding, Archbishop of Sydney.

§ Drs. Luquet, and Murphy, Bishop of Hyderabad.

|| Mgr. Pompallier.

¶ Mgr. Bourget of Montreal.

from England and Ireland, all coming ad limina apostolorum to seek for counsel and direction from the successor of St. Peter. He might have seen a papal nuncio depart to direct the church of Spain, (Mgr. Brunelli); another to console and strengthen the persecuted Catholics of Switzerland, (Mgr. Luquet); another aiding and encouraging the bishops of France in their struggles against the University monopoly, (Mgr. Fornari); and the Pope interfering to protect a persecuted bishop of Holland in the case of Mgr. Laurent.

The second great accusation of Mr. Whiteside is, that the Catholic church is opposed to all education, and this he repeats again and again. We might, in answer to this, point triumphantly to Belgium, where, under the guidance of the bishops, the Catholics have established a noble University, and schools in every town and village: we might point to the Swiss, some of the best educated people in the world: we might point even to the efforts which have been made to establish schools in England and Ireland. But we will grapple with Mr. Whiteside's argument in his stronghold, Rome itself. He says,

"I have before me an official document, decisive on this subject; proving, not only the neglect of education in the papal states, but its fearful consequences, idleness and crime. The paper referred to is the memorable circular of Cardinal Gizzi; it declares that the crimes, and amongst them theft, which too frequently for some time past have been committed in the Pontifical states, have induced the government to adopt, not only measures of repression suitable to the urgency of the occasion, but also wise means of prevention; so as to remove the causes of these crimes, or at least, diminish their pernicious influence. 'His Holiness, penetrated with the great importance of this truth, has commanded me to require the attention of the chiefs of provinces, in order that, in concert with the local magistrates, they may withdraw from idleness the youth, turning them to works of public utility, and lend their exertions to extend in every place, secular and religious education, to the lowest classes of the people.'"—vol. iii. p. 200.

We have sought carefully for any other authorities or facts adduced by Mr. Whiteside, and can find none. Now, what does the circular of Cardinal Gizzi prove? That much remains yet to be done; and that the holy Pontiff and his minister were well aware of the necessity of ever extending and improving the education of the masses. But let us examine what has been done. We

find from Morichini, that Rome, with a population of about 170,000, has 149 schools for the poorer classes, attended by upwards of 9,000 pupils. Of these, 96 are wholly or in part supported by the government. In this number are not included the numerous institutions for the support and education of orphans, or those children whose parents are unable to support them: nor the schools for the upper classes, and the institutions for teaching the catechism.

The most remarkable of these institutions is, perhaps, that of the *scuole notturne*, or evening schools, founded in 1819; in which one thousand youths, employed in various trades during the day, are taught reading, writing, arithmetic, the Christian doctrine, and in some, the principles of lineal drawing, ornament, and geometry as applied to the arts. (Morichini, 2. p. 119.) These schools take up the children of the poor from their earliest infancy, for in the *scuole regionarie Pontificie* of the first class, children are received from two to five years of age. In addition to this, instruction of a higher kind is provided gratuitously for all those who choose to seek it. In the three great colleges, the *Collegio Romano*, the *Apollinare* or Pontifical seminary, and the *Sapienza* or Roman University, lectures by first rate professors on all subjects, from grammar to law and theology, are open without fee to all who choose to attend. In 1846, the excellent schools of the Dominicans at the *Minerva* were thrown open to the public; and the great public libraries at the *Sapienza*, the *Minerva*,* are always open.

Mr. Whiteside is shocked at the riches of the Catholic clergy in Italy; but his information on this subject is not always the most correct: thus, he states, (vol. i, p. 28,) "the revenues of the clergy of Modena cannot be got at, and may fairly be assumed to be great." Had he enquired, he would have learned that they were paid according to a fixed and very moderate scale.

In Rome, too, he is virtuously indignant at the pomp and riches of the cardinals, (vol. 2, 118 et passim,) and pronounces that there is nothing in holy writ to countenance them, and that they bear little resemblance to St. Peter or Paul. Now, had he turned to so common a book as

* Mr. Whiteside might have made use of this library with advantage, in compiling his account of Beatrice Cenci. The Quarterly has well exposed all the errors in this part of Mr. W.'s work.

Mr. Murray's hand-book for Rome, he would have learnt that the princely revenue of a cardinal is only £800 a-year. Whether the ascetic Micara, or the lordly bishop of Durham or Canterbury, is most like an apostle, it is not difficult to determine. At this moment, the *Daily News* of Nov. 18, 1848, has reached us, and we find the following description of an Anglican apostle :

"The Rev. Francis North, Earl of Guildford, is a Prebend of Winchester, rector of Medstead, Old and New Alresford, and of St. Mary's, Southampton. No one knows precisely the income his lordship derives from the church; for he has, we believe, contumaciously defied every ecclesiastical and civil authority, to compel him to return the amount; all that is known is, that it must be immense. The Prebendal stall at Winchester, is a valuable one. The lowest estimate of his income from St. Cross hospital is £6,000 or £7,000 a-year. The tithes of three of the hospital estates were commuted a few years ago for £2,000 a-year. It has been already mentioned, that the poor at St. Cross, do not cost the master more than £1,000 a-year. The rectory of Old Alresford is worth £2,000 a-year. That of St. Mary's, Southampton, has been estimated by some at £3,000, by others at £2,500 a-year."

He goes on to describe the condition of St. Mary's as being most demoralized.

"The noble Earl is of course non-resident, and the salary of the junior curate is £80 a-year.

"The Earl is said to be a man of talent, and his sermons—bah!—who could listen to a sermon from the master of St. Cross hospital, with from £6,000 to £7,000 a-year, a non-resident rector, who pockets £2,000 a-year, and gives a curate £80 per annum?"

Throughout his travels, a favourite enquiry of Mr. Whiteside's seems to have been, do the people believe in miracles, and do the clergy assert their existence; and should any hapless Catholic venture to assert his belief that when Christ said to his apostles: "Go, heal the sick, raise the dead, cleanse lepers, drive out demons: freely have you received, freely also give," (Mat. x, 8.) he did not make a vain order or a deceitful promise, he is at once set down as an ignorant fanatic. Thus the church of Tuscany is at once condemned on account of the miracles of St. Philomena;* and that of St. Januarius, which Sir

* Mr. W. invariably calls her Filomena, the English form of the name is Philomena.

Humphrey Davy confessed himself unable to account for on natural grounds, is "assumed to be an imposture," and the priests pronounced infidels for knowingly and deliberately representing a falsehood, (vol. 3, p. 115.) As, however, assertion or "assumption" is not proof, the reader may be curious to know the reasoning by which Mr. Whiteside undertakes to demonstrate the impossibility of miracles.

"Throughout the sacred volume there is scarcely to be found a more touching or awful narrative, than that of the raising of Lazarus from the dead by the voice of omnipotence. Believing that fact, and the resurrection, an enquirer after truth, supposing him not before convinced, *must* become a Christian. But if common mortals can do the thing Christ did while on earth, the sublimity of his character is lessened,—his miracles cease to be the wonderful works of the incarnate God. At his command the grave yielded back its victims; has death been equally obedient to the authority of Filippo Neri?"—vol. iii. p. 244.

By a parity of reasoning, if we believe that the dead man was restored to life when his corpse touched the bones of the prophet, we cannot believe in the God of the prophets. If St. Paul raised to life Eutychus, Acts xx., the proof of our Lord's divinity is weakened. No; as Peter and John raised the cripple in the name of the Lord Jesus, so did St. Philip Neri raise the young Massimo to life in the same divine name; and God is praised in his saints.

Further instances of this peculiar style of reasoning are to be found p. 209, where, with equal cogency, he infers from the assertion that the church has a right to change ceremonies, that therefore it might change formularies and *creeds*. At p. 220, he admits that when Napoleon's prefect threw open the convents, the nuns begged to be permitted to remain, and none complained of ill usage; but he very characteristically adds, "*I will* never believe that there are not amongst them many hearts broken by their imprisonment."

We have carefully refrained throughout these remarks from saying one word in answer to Mr. Whiteside's many attacks on those of his own church, who, counting the riches of this world as dross that they might attain to Christ, have gone forth from their country, and their nation, and their father's house.

They need no defence or no praise of ours; for they have gone forth to Him beyond the camp, bearing His reproach, and they know that the disciple is not above the master, nor the servant above his lord. If they called the father of the family Beelzebub, how much more those of his household? But one word we would say to Mr. Whiteside; he says, in his preface, "In touching on religious matters, I disclaim utterly all sectarian or party spirit; when men are on terms of political equality, a religious discussion ought to be conducted without asperity." We would remind him that the constant use of the word apostates, and other offensive epithets, is as contrary to his own professions as it is to the practice and feelings of gentlemen. It is a more pleasing task to collect some of the passages in which Mr. Whiteside bears testimony to the excellencies of the church. We have already quoted his admission of the practical effects produced by its teaching in the exercise of christian charity. Here is what he says of its preaching: "The topic of exclusive salvation is never omitted. Sin is boldly condemned, the atonement preached frequently and fully." (Vol. ii. p. 213.) Of the Tuscan clergy, he says, that after the great earthquake, 1841, "Their clergy taught the Tuscans, that the poor were the living temple of Jesus Christ, that no sacrifice or offering could be more acceptable to Him than the charity which practices self-denial to relieve the miserable." (Vol. i. p. 54.)

Mr. Whiteside's third volume is occupied with a description of Genoa, of Naples, and of the environs of Rome, together with an account of the government of Rome under Gregory X. and under Pius IX.; it closes with a sketch of political events in Italy, down to the present year. Into the question of the administration of Gregory XVI. we shall not enter; it, as well as the changes introduced by Pius IX., have been ably touched upon in a former article in this Review. And the events of the last months in Rome, stained with the murder of a prime minister, and the besieging in his palace by a tumultuous rabble of a sovereign who had freely granted every constitutional reform, have done but too much to justify the fears of those who held that the Romans were unworthy of a free government.

Of Pius IX. Mr. Whiteside says, "I cannot, during this interval, (up to Feb. 1847,) discover any comprehen-

sive permanent measure of reform carried or promised by Pius IX." (p. 230.) It is to be remembered, that up to this date, the new Pope had occupied the throne hardly seven months: yet, in that time, the amnesty had been proclaimed, the whole administration of the law reformed, and the conflicting jurisdictions in Rome remodelled by an admirable *motu proprio*: the various feudal jurisdictions of the great proprietors amended, in most cases abolished: the tariff reformed; the censorship improved; and persons summoned from each province to form a council for the discussion and adoption of measures of improvement. Some improvements in the municipal institution of the various small towns had also been made. On this subject, there is a valuable passage at the end of Mr. Whiteside's 9th chapter, vol. 3, taken from the work of De Tournon, Napoleon's Prefect.

"There was a municipal system in the Papal states, really calculated to give the people control over their local affairs. The large towns were entitled to have a municipal council of 48 members; lesser towns, 36 or 24. Villages under a thousand inhabitants, 15; nominated at first by the Sovereign, afterwards renewed by the council, and chosen from all classes of the people, nobles or farmers. The council were to make out a list from which the governor of the province was to select the local magistrates. This council ought to have the assessment and disbursement of all local taxes and expenses, such as police, the doctor, the schoolmaster, &c."

The Frenchman adds, that this system was evidently borrowed from the French; and Mr. Whiteside, "that whatever may be the theory, I understand the people in the Roman states were latterly stripped of all real power or municipal authority." Both equally incorrect. The municipal system in the Roman states is of very ancient origin, and existed in full force under the reign of the late Pope.

This notice has run to such a length, that on the subject of law in Rome we must content ourselves with noting hastily a few inaccuracies. We had commenced some remarks on the statement, that "no part of the evidence, trial, or sentence, in a criminal case, can be published," vol. ii. p. 272; when we read on and came to "the sentence placarded before the execution, narrates not only the history of the accused and of the proceedings, but of every witness and person connected with the

case." (Vol. iii. p. 291.) Such is the fact, and this detailed account of every part of the trial is posted on every wall in Rome. The case of the late Mr. Keenan is instanced as a proof of the delays of justice in Rome. Now several of the adjournments in Mr. Keenan's case were at his own request; and it is incorrect that no definite decision was come to, as the cause was decided in the spring of 1847, a few months after Mr. Whiteside left Rome, and some time before Mr. Keenan's illness or death.

In the next page, a very inaccurate account is given of Father Ventura's sermon on the occasion of the collection for the Irish. The preacher alluded, it is true, in terms of well merited indignation, to the efforts which were made in some parts of Ireland, as in Dingle and elsewhere, to convert the famine into a means of proselytizing; but he spoke in terms of high eulogy of the charity of the British nation.

Mr. Whiteside's work closes with a sketch of the late political events in Italy, and of the plans of the leading self-dubbed liberals.* The latter is chiefly from what he denominates a diplomatic document; but which we learn, page 281, was a manuscript in French; but shrewdly suspected to have been originally drawn up in Italian," given to him by "a gentleman connected with a foreign embassy in Rome whom he happened to meet." We will not insinuate that this attaché indulged in the amusement of "stuffing" the foreigner; but assuredly the reader may believe just as much of this diplomatic document as he pleases. It were well if Mr. Whiteside had reserved most of his political prophecies a little longer. The assertion that "it is impossible Austria can ever regain her ascendancy over Lombardy," sounds a little odd with Radetski issuing decrees from Milan.

Of the style of Mr. Whiteside's volumes, little need be said. In general, it is clear, but disfigured not unfrequently by a forced simplicity, which reminds us of the style formerly considered necessary to be adopted in books for children. It seldom rises to the elevated, and then

* Mr. W.'s own ideas of liberty are somewhat peculiar, inasmuch as they comprise the forcible suppression of all voluntary religious orders, the expulsion of the Jesuits, and the infliction of a compulsory system of education.

sometimes only to fall again prematurely; as in his description of "the far-famed walls of the Rhine, where excellent accommodation can now be had in the new hotel Feyder." His pages are frequently also disfigured by incorrect Italian, (too frequent for false prints,) such as *alla Franchesi*, *via Felice*, the high altar called *baldachino*, *Porta Triumphale*, *Jornale*, *Fuori le Mure*, *Porta San Nicolla*; nor can we judge more favourably of the Latinity of a writer who talks of *a* *Columbaria*, and speaks of the *forum of Transitorium*.

In conclusion, we would heartily recommend Mr. Whiteside, for the future, either to confine himself to that forensic arena in which he so much excels; or, if he must write, to devote his attention to the translation of the works of the excellent Savonarola, which he so much recommends, and in which he shall have our cordial encouragement. We have heard a report that he is employed on a new work, to be called the *Vicissitudes of Italy*; if such be the case, may we suggest a more diligent investigation of original authorities; and perhaps it would not be amiss to reserve the past vicissitudes of Italy, until her present vicissitudes shall have come to some termination. Horace's advice were worth attention:

——— nonumque prematur in annum
Membranis intus positis: delere licebit
Quod non edideris; nescit vox missa reverti.

ART. II.—1. *Le General Rosas et la Question de la Plata, par M. Chevalier de Saint Robert.* (General Rosas and the Question of the River Plate. By M. Chevalier de Saint Robert.) Paris, 1848.

2.—*Protocolo de la Negociacion de Paz, promovida por los SS. Ministros Plenipotenciarios de los gobiernos interventores, iniciado el 21 de Marzo y terminado el 8 de Junio de 1848. Publicacion Oficial.* (Protocol of the Negotiation for Peace, promoted by the Ministers Plenipotentiary of the mediating Governments, commenced on the 21st of March, and ended on the 8th June, 1848.—Official publication.) Monte Video, 1848.

3.—*La Gaceta Mercantil.* (The Mercantile Gazette) newspaper, published at Buenos Ayres.

- 4.—*El Conservador*. (The Conservator) newspaper, published at Monte Video.
- 5.—*Monte Video, Buenos Ayres, and the River Plate*: Correspondence with the British Government relative to the war between Buenos Ayres and Monte Video, and the Free Navigation of the River Plate, with an Appendix, detailing some of the acts committed by Rosas, Governor of Buenos Ayres. By GENERAL O'BRIEN. London: Reynell and Weight. 1845.
- 6.—*Observations on the present state of the affairs of the River-Plate*. By THOMAS BAINES, Liverpool. Liverpool Times Office, 1845.
- 7.—*An Account, Historical, Political, and Statistical, of the United Provinces of Rio de la Plata*, with an Appendix concerning the Usurpation of Monte Video, by the Portuguese and Brazilian Governments. Translated from the Spanish. London: R. Ackermann, 1825.

AT a time, when Europe appears to be convulsed from its centre to its most remote extremities; when kings and princes are contending not merely for the maintenance of their own authority, and the vindication of their prerogatives, but for the perpetuation of their dynasties and the preservation of their lives; when anarchy arms itself with the assassin's knife, and mighty armies are moved to put down principles subversive of all order, society, and religion; when such is the state of nations with which we are most closely connected, it may, perhaps, at first sight, appear to be an inopportune moment to direct the attention of our readers to what is now occurring in a distant hemisphere, to transfer their thoughts from the great questions and the exciting events that have taken place in Paris, or Vienna, or Berlin, or Frankfort, and their awful consequences; to pass them by, and reflect on that which has happened on the banks of La Plata, and in which the chief actors are scarcely known even by name to the readers of newspapers.

The ignorance that prevails with regard to the affairs of the river Plate is no apology, much less a valid reason for its perpetuation; and our justification for seeking to put an end to it is, that England, and still more, Ireland, are, as it will be presently shown, deeply interested in the progress of events in that part of the world—that to those engaged in commerce, the question is one of paramount importance, and to all who are seeking the solution of the question, "which is the most desirable place for emigration?" it is one of vital, nay, of transcendent interest. If we did not

so regard "the affairs of the river Plate," we should never have selected the pages of this periodical for communicating the information we possess respecting them, even though that information may afford to those, who are but lightly read in the state of South America, an insight into a condition of their fellow man, which will appear as new and strange as any thing that ever yet was embodied in the compositions of the most imaginative romance-writers.

In asking the Catholic reader especially to transport himself in thought with us to the River Plate, and its tributary streams, the Parana, and Uruguay, we beg of him to bear in mind that he is proceeding to scenes and places, which attest by their very names the labours, the toils, and the sufferings of that extraordinary body of men, the Jesuits, who were there the missionaries of the gospel, and who there saved millions of souls from perdition, and in their establishment at Paraguay demonstrated that there could be, where there is the perfection of christianity, that model commonwealth of which socialists dream, and communists babble, when they theorise respecting something that they, with their sordid and impure passions, could never accomplish. The places that were hallowed by the prayers of saints have been converted into the habitations of sinners; the altars raised and adorned by the hands of the holy have been despoiled and uprooted by the profane; the liberty which Catholicity ever bears with it as a companion, has been stricken down, first, by the despotism of a monarchical form of government, and then by despotism in its worst, most odious, most intolerant, and most sanguinary aspect, when it calls itself "a democracy," and, in accordance with the whim, the caprices, the passions, the avarice, or the cruelty of a few—a clique, a club, or a president—pillages monasteries, confiscates public, appropriates private property, banishes, kills or tortures its victims, and claims an indulgence for every crime, and a reward for the meanest bloodiest act of vice, because perpetrated in the name of "THE PEOPLE!"

Misgoverned and ill used by Spain, her South American colonies seem to have rid themselves of the misgovernment of their former sovereigns, but to have fallen into a hopeless, helpless state of anarchy, amid which the mind wanders dazzled and bewildered by the number of names of those who appear upon the surface for a day, as leaders, and then are lost sight of for ever, the causes for their tem-

porary elevation and their permanent downfall remaining alike inexplicable. True as this remark is, as applied to all the South American Republics for some years, it has from the commencement to the present moment, been particularly applicable to the riverine states of La Plata; where plot is involved in plot, and none has a complete development; where an unknown chief succeeds to an obscure leader, and many battles are fought for factious objects, and scarcely one—if one—for the general weal, how afford to the reader a clue which may safely, clearly, and distinctly guide him through the Dædalean intricacies of this “mighty maze without a plan?”

It is impossible to do so, if we cannot discover some one striking event amid a myriad of petty circumstances, and then, having found such an event, see if by its extraordinary character there may not be attached to it such an explanation as may in itself be an elucidation of all that has preceded it. In the year 1807, and in the month of February, the town of Monte Video was taken possession of by the British troops, and evacuated in the month of September. The place was not retained as a conquest, but it was occupied for such a time as to impress its conquerors with a full knowledge of its greatness, its value, and its importance; and should the changes that even then were contemplated in consequence of the state of affairs in Europe, ever occur, the necessity of not permitting it to become the means of aggrandisement to any Power that might be hostile to the British crown. In 1828, and in consequence of the advice of a truly profound statesman, a new republic was established on the banks of the river Plate, with Monte Video as its capital. *For more than five years the town of Monte Video has been beset by a hostile army, and has defeated every attempt made to conquer it!*

Troy with its ten years' siege has filled the world with its renown, for it had a Homer to celebrate its foes and its friends. Antwerp, which yielded on the 17th August, 1585, to a generous conqueror, excited the admiration of the world by its bravery, and its resolution for withstanding all the enemy's assaults for an entire year; and yet, here is a small town, invested by a land army, and blockaded for a considerable period by a fleet, maintaining its courageous determination, and enduring every species of want, misery, and privation, rather than submit to its foe,

that foe being the army of General Rosas, led on by Oribe, the ex-president of Monte Video, and who might boast in the attack on Monte Video, as Aldegund boasted with respect to the defence of Antwerp: "Quantum ab ingenio, quantum ab arte peti potuit, cœlum, mare, ac tantum non tartara in societatem auxiliumque devocavimus."*

Here then there is a fact, so astounding in its mere statement as to excite attention towards, and to elicit the desire of an explanation respecting it. In that explanation is involved an exposition as to the political situation of the riverine states of La Plata, and a portraiture of the men who have either *made events* in those states, or have been the victims of them. Our exposition and our portraiture must be alike brief; but, freed from all unnecessary details, they will, we trust, be found clear and distinct, as the authorities on which they are based are quoted.

The peculiar characteristic of the South American colonial governments, as dependencies on the Spanish crown, was their dislike to foreigners, their determination to exclude foreigners, *to monopolize amongst themselves*, that is, amongst the Spanish race, all the advantages to be derived from the productions of their soil, and the enjoyment of their climate. "The laws of the Indies," as they were called, enforced this exclusion of foreigners, and the junta of Spain, which, in 1809, "reorganized the States of America as integral parts of the monarchy" by its first viceroy to the provinces of Rio de La Plata, upheld this monopoly, and maintained this exclusion. The Regency of Cadiz in 1810 declared "as apocryphal a decree in favour of free commerce."† The system of exclusion maintained, avowed, and acted upon by the royal colonies of Spain in South America, has had, and still has, its adherents and its champions in the revolutionized South American Republics; and it is *this conflict* of monopolists and exclusionists against free traders, and those who would open the rivers and the lands of South America to European enterprise and industry, that gives to us, Eng-

* Strada, Bel. Belgic. Dec. Sec. Lib. 7. p. 375. (Ed. Rome, 1648.)

† Letter of Don Ynacio Nunez to Woodbine Parish, Esq., dated Buenos Ayres, 15th June, 1824.

lish as well as Irish, a deep, personal, and even pecuniary interest in that battle which has been so long fighting on the banks of the river Plate, and that is mixed up, in no slight degree, with the siege, and, mayhap, the downfall of Monte Video.

It is well known, that as long as the Dictator Francia governed Paraguay, that great country was cut off from all communication with Europeans—that the European, who, *for any purpose* penetrated within its precincts, did so at the peril of his life; and what is now feared is, that should General Rosas, the President at Buenos Ayres, obtain possession of Monte Video, all those vast and rich countries which formerly constituted the viceroyalty of Buenos Ayres, but have since been split up into so many distinct and independent states, will be as hermetically sealed against the trade of Europeans, or the settlement of Europeans in them, as Paraguay under the dictatorship of Francia. Injurious as this policy would be to the world at large, still we can well conceive its arising from, and being enforced by the purest principles of patriotism. “Here,” it might be said by a good and virtuous ruler, “I command a country that supplies with the spontaneous bounty of nature, every article necessary for the sustainment and comfort of life; the Oriental del Uruguay gives to them more than they can use of meat and of corn, of hides, wool, and tallow; in the Corrientes and other provinces they have the finest timber, sugar, tobacco, cotton-wool, dye-woods, drugs; whilst Paraguay affords to them its tea, and its bark. What care we for the rest of the world? why not exclude it, and its gold, its diamonds, and its luxuries—its cares, its anxieties, and its vices? and though the lands I hold might maintain a thousand for the one they now feed, still better the superabundance of the wilderness, than that frightful competition for a dry crust, which is now going on in the crowded streets of civilized and populous Europe. Better, far better that my people should remain as they are, in their innocent and contented simplicity, than that they should be inoculated with the avarice of the European. God has given us these lands, and we will permit no foreigner to intrude upon us.”

If *an exclusive policy* were dictated by such principles as these, we could respect, and even admire it, even though for our own sakes, and that of our industrious and poor countrymen, we regretted its adoption. In no place where

this exclusive policy has been acted upon, have we, however, found it to be coincident with a love for the people governed, a regard for their interests, and a care for their liberties. It was not so when Royal Viceroys ruled over the South American Colonies; it was not so with Francia in his despotic government of Paraguay; and we have now to see whether it has been so with the governor of Buenos Ayres, General Rosas, who it is said "confines foreign commerce to the single port of Buenos Ayres, and excludes both foreigners and foreign vessels from the other ports of the confederation, as strictly as the Chinese formerly excluded them from every port except Canton."*

And *who*, it may here be asked, is General Rosas, and *how* came he to be possessed of the power he now exercises? In affording a satisfactory answer to that question, we are compelled to trace back the history of the ancient Viceroyalty of Buenos Ayres, from the moment that it was shattered by the convulsions of the mother country. From 1810 until 1820 this portion of South America was an anarchy; in which the infidels Voltaire and Rousseau were deified, Mably and Raynal the oracles of the press, Robespierre and the Convention the models of men assuming to take the lead in politics. The central or governmental power, which had previously been deposited at Buenos Ayres, disappeared in presence of the provincial organizations. On all sides leaders sprang up, sought to govern, and were superseded by new rivals. The governors of Buenos Ayres were no longer counted by months or weeks, but by the day and the hour. Such was the miserable condition of the nation, when an administration was formed, which promised to procure for it some tranquillity.†

* "Observations on the Present State of the Affairs of the River Plate, by Thomas Baines."—p. 10.

† "Le General Rosas et la Question de la Plata," p. 10.

The state of anarchy which is thus described, is confirmed by the letter of Senor Nunez, who not only portrays it in as strong terms as the able writer from whom we quote, but who also mentions *the cause* of all this commotion—namely, the proposal of France to convert those provinces into a monarchy, and to place upon the throne the *Duke of Orleans*, (Louis Philippe!) Don Francisco de Paula, or the prince of Lucca. The last named became the favourite with the European sovereigns, and the consequences of his name being put forward, are thus described by Senor Nunez :

At the head of this administration was a man named Bernardino Rivadavia, who had resided for many years in a public capacity in Europe, that is as "Minister Secretary of Government and Foreign Affairs."

This administration was constituted about the middle of the year 1821, and it not only projected great things, but carried many of them into effect. It established the representative system, as the basis on which all governmental authority should rest, bestowing the franchise upon every citizen twenty years of age, and the capacity of being elected upon "every citizen above twenty-five years of age, possessing a real estate, or property acquired by in-

"The first ten years of the revolution passed in constant struggles with the difficulties to which I have alluded; but in the eleventh, that is, in the year 1820, hope was entirely extinguished. Very early in that year, a revolutionary movement took place against the supreme authority of the country, having been fostered chiefly by resistance to the project of France for the coronation of the Prince of Lucca. This produced a great dislocation, and the nation subdivided itself into as many states as there are provinces, each assuming the form of a sovereign independent body. At last each province was severed into fractional parts of as many sections as there were component cities, each adopting the same form; and thus my country, in the eleventh year, was brought to the present appearance, not of a federal state, because no relations were kept up between one state and the other, but of something similar to the Hanseatic towns. But as yet nothing remarkable occurred, till that state of things was followed by inveterate wars in the interior of each city, and between one city and another, which gave rise to the idea that the cause of the country was lost for ever. From shock to shock, and from abyss to abyss, all the states proceeded in the year 1820; and Buenos Ayres, which, as the capital, possessed greater means, and presented a more expanded field for the exercise of the vehement passions, suffered, in consequence, all the results attendant on such situations, and which completely demolished the credit and directing character which had been conceded to her during the whole of the revolution. Judge, Sir, what could have been the hopes of these states after having arrived, amidst so many difficulties, at a state of entire anarchy; and I beg you not to forget that the origin of these catastrophes I have laid to the charge of France, in consequence of her ultimate proposition to establish a throne in my country."—Letter of Don Y. Nunez, to Woodbine Parish, Esq., dated Buenos Ayres, 15th June, 1824.

dustry.”* It declared “the inviolability of property,† publicity in the management of all the departments of government; a law of amnesty for all past offences arising out of political disputes; toleration for all religions; and finally, it obtained from the representatives of the nation, “a law, by which it was solemnly acknowledged that the union of the Provinces, made before each had separately effected its internal economical arrangement should not be allowed to take place, lest it might again endanger the credit of the country at large.”† The administration of Rivadavia endeavoured to establish at Buenos Ayres, a liberal press, and an University; to place colonies in the desert but fruitful plains, to establish a sea and a river marine, a national bank for industry, and it generously invited foreigners from all countries to come and people the immense territory of the republic, and to co-operate with it in the great work of opening to the commerce and the civilization of Europe, one of the loveliest lands on the face of the globe.§ That the administration of Rivadavia did this—generously invite foreigners to Buenos Ayres—is a fact, of which every Irishman should bear a grateful recollection. It is one confirmed by the high and indisputable authority of General O’Brien, now the Consul General for the Oriental del Uruguay, who, in a letter addressed to the Earl of Clarendon, as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, thus expresses himself:—

“I was, my lord, in the Banda Oriental in the year 1822, when I heard that subscriptions were raising in England to relieve the distress of the Irish poor. I made arrangements with the government then established on the River Plate to bring out a number of

* “Law of Elections,” ch. i. art. 3.

† This did not, we fear, include church property; for Senor Nunez, in addressing himself to Sir Woodbine Parish, as the representative of a *Protestant* government, thus expresses himself: “—— the suppression of the convents, a work which *you* are better qualified to appreciate than *I* am, and which to the honour of my country I am bound to declare, was every where effected without the slightest inconvenience.”—Letter, dated 15th June, 1824.

‡ Letter of Don Y. Nunez to Woodbine Parish, Esq., dated 15th June, 1824.

§ M. Chevalier de Saint Robert, p. 11.

emigrants from Ireland. I had for this purpose FIFTEEN THOUSAND POUNDS at my disposal.

"I returned to this country in the year 1823. I communicated my intentions in a memorial to the Foreign Secretary, Mr. Canning, and in a second memorial to the Marquess Wellesley. I proposed then to take out a few thousand families, and locate them on the Uruguay in the Banda Oriental. I had even the ships prepared, and was on the point of making a selection of emigrants, when Mr. Canning, apprehensive that it might be said that he was permitting a political object to be gained, rather than sanctioning the accomplishment of a benevolent purpose, *interfered, and the emigration I then suggested, was rendered abortive.*"*

We do not stop here to enquire how much Ireland suffered by being thus sacrificed to a fancied political expediency; but having occasion to refer to the Rivadavia administration, we cannot allow that reference to be made without stating this fact to its honour, that not only did it desire to promote emigration from Ireland, but it advanced funds for that purpose.

From 1821 until 1829 the Rivadavia administration continued in office. Its downfall was traceable to the unjust aggressions of Brazil, which inherited from the Portuguese crown the desire to retain possession of the east side of the river Plate, then known as the Province of Monte Video, and of which military occupation had been taken by the Portuguese troops in the year 1817. The persistence of Brazil in this unjust occupation led to that war between Brazil and Buenos Ayres which terminated, through the intervention of Lord Ponsonby, in the creation of the Oriental del Uruguay as an independent state, with Monte Video as its capital.

The war of 1826, which Buenos Ayres was compelled to wage with Brazil, was, as far as the former state was concerned, a truly popular war: for it was believed that it was necessary to defend by arms the liberty which the people had won, and the fruits of which they were then enjoying. It revived the military spirit that had been slumbering for some years, and in so doing, incalculable mischief was inflicted upon the people.

"It was on this occasion," observes M. Chevalier de Saint Robert, "that the general organization of the Republic underwent

* Letter of General O'Brien to the Earl of Clarendon, lithographed for private circulation, p. 1.

a change. Rivadavia was elevated to the Presidentship, and the congress asked him to bestow a constitution on the country. Thus the Provincial Governments, which led to a Federal system, were obliterated for the purpose of substituting in their place a government of unity, or a centralised government; and it was then, correctly speaking, that appeared the two parties, the '*Unitarians*' and the '*Federalists*,' names, we may remark, that have since been written in blood, and that have resounded amid deeds of horror, such as men calling themselves christians, never before perpetrated upon each other. Even then, however, they were not new names—they had been assumed by hostile parties from the first days of the Revolution; but they were then employed as characterising the two opposite principles of government, each of which had its respective advocates and supporters. Then they were emblems of principles; but of late years they are only the rallying cries of parties, and signify the very opposite of that which was the original meaning given to them. Thus, '*the Unitarians*' is the name applied by General Rosas to those *who are not Unitarians*, because they are *opposed to the centralization of power in his hands*."

In 1826 and 1827 the names of *Unitarians* and of *Federalists* were properly applied to two distinct parties.

"The party of *Unitarians*, at the head of which was Rivadavia, was composed of all the men formed in his school—enthusiastic in their notions, and impatient, like him, of realizing that magnificent project which they had traced out for the country. This party was, if we may use the expression, a *civic* party; that is, it was the exponent of the opinions of the city—that is to say, of the most enlightened class of citizens—those most strongly impressed with the habits of Europeans, and the European notions of liberty. The *Federalists* had as their leader Colonel Dorrego—it was the *Military* party, and it represented the feelings of those dwelling in the country, as opposed to the inhabitants of towns. Principally composed of the leading men (*Caudillos*) in the interior of the country, it insisted upon a Provincial organization. Each party, it is manifest, adopted as its principle of policy, that which was most conducive to its own interests, and, therefore, it was not possible to shake the conviction of either. When, then, the Congress, in 1827, gave a constitution, the Provinces who were dominated over by the Federalists, finding that their interests were not sufficiently attended to, rejected it. Rivadavia then resigned the Presidentship. The Congress accepted the resignation, and named Vicente Lopez as his successor. The Congress, however, finding that it was exposed to a constant opposition from the Provinces, separated. The new President, Lopez, fell with it, and the Central Government a second time disappeared. A mere junta then re-established itself at Buenos Ayres, and named

Dorrego as governor of the Province. The Federal party triumphed.”*

This triumph led to a civil war. Dorrego, as the leader of the *Federalists*, was defeated in battle, and shot by Lavalle, the commander of the *Unitarians*. This act of vengeance was followed by many conflicts, by many blood-stained reprisals; but, at length, terminated by the submission of Lavalle to his adversaries. He had to retire from Buenos Ayres to be succeeded by Rosas.

The war in which the Argentine provinces was now engaged, was a war between the civilized inhabitants of the towns, and the uncivilized inhabitants of the provinces. The pamphlet of M. Chevalier de Saint Robert gives a truly graphic description of the latter, and of their hero Rosas; and the following passages, translated from his pamphlet, will, we are sure, be read with interest:

“The town population,” observes the author from whom we quote, “is almost exclusively Spanish, and represents Europe and the habits of civilization: the country population represents the original inhabitants, that is barbarism, with all the customs and habits of primitive life. The population of the Pampas have a peculiar physiognomy, such as is to be found in no other part of the world. They exhibit the instincts and the faculties which the desert every where develops, but still they have not those traits which elsewhere particularize a pastoral or a warlike tribe. The Arab, who dwells or wanders in the deserts of Asia, is but a fraction of that great Mahommedan society that dwells in cities. The tribe coincides with society in many things, it has the same creed, the same obedience to religious dogmas, and preserves every where the same traditional organization. There is nothing like this to be found in the Pampas.

“In the bosom of those immense plains, which extend from Salta to the Cordilleras, that is, over a space of more than seven hundred leagues, there are to be found neither distinct castes, nor tribes, nor creeds, nor even that which may be properly called a nation. There is nothing to be found but *estancias* (farms) scattered here and there, which form so many petty republics, isolated from the rest of the world, living by themselves, and separated from each other by the desert. Alone in the midst of those over whom he is a complete master, the *estanciero* is out of every kind of society whatsoever, with no other law than that of force, with no other rules to guide him but those that are self-imposed, and with no other motive to influence him than his own caprice. There is

* M. Chevalier de Saint Robert, p. 12.

nothing to disturb his repose, to dispute his power, or interfere with his tranquillity except the tiger that may sometimes lurk about his grounds, or the wild Indians that may occasionally make a hostile incursion on his domains. His children and his domestics, *gauchos* like himself, pass the same sort of life, that is to say, without ambition, without desires, and without any species of agricultural labour. All they have to do is to mark and to kill, at certain periods, the herds of oxen and flocks of sheep which constitute the fortune of the *estanciero*, and that satisfy the wants of all. Purely carnivorous, the gaucho's only food consists of flesh and water—bread and spirituous liquors are as much unknown to him as the simplest elements of social life. In a country in which the only wealth of the inhabitants arises from the incessant destruction of innumerable flocks, it can be easily understood how their sanguinary occupation must tend to obliterate every sentiment of pity, and induce an indifference to the perpetration of acts of cruelty. The readiness to shed blood—a ferocity which is at the same time obdurate and brutal—constitutes the prominent feature in the character of the pure *gaucho*.

“The first instrument that the infantile hand of the gaucho grasps is the knife—the first things that attract his attention as a child, are the pouring out of blood, and the palpitating flesh of expiring animals. From his earliest years, as soon as he is able to walk, he is taught how he may with the greatest skill approach the living beast, bough it, and if he has the strength, kill it. Such are the sports of his childhood—he pursues them ardently, and amid the approving smiles of his family. As soon as he acquires sufficient strength, he takes part in the labours of the estancia; they are the sole arts he has to study, and he concentrates all his intellectual powers in mastering them. From that time forth he arms himself with a large knife, and for a single moment of his life he never parts with it. It is to his hand an additional limb—he makes use of it always, in all cases, in every circumstance, and constantly with wonderful skill and address. The same knife that in the morning had been used to slaughter a bullock, or to kill a tiger, aids him in the day time to cut his dinner, and at night to carve out a skin tent, or else to repair his saddle, or to mend his mandoline. With the gaucho the knife is often used as an argument in support of his opinions. In the midst of a conversation apparently carried on in amity, the formidable knife glitters on a sudden in the hand of one of the speakers, the *ponchos* are rolled around the left arm, and a conflict commences. Soon deep gashes are seen on the face, the blood gushes forth, and not unfrequently one of the combatants falls lifeless to the earth; but no one thinks of interfering with the combat, and when it is over the conversation is resumed as if nothing extraordinary had occurred. No person is disturbed by it—not even the women, who remain as cold unmoved spectators of the affray! It

may easily be surmised what sort of persons they must be, of which such a scene is but a specimen of their domestic manners. Thus the savage education of the estancia produces in the gaucho a complete indifference as to human life, by familiarizing him from his most tender years to the contemplation of a violent death, whether it is that he inflicts it on another or receives it himself. He lifts his knife against a man with the same indifference that he strikes down a bullock: the idea which everywhere else attaches to the crime of homicide does not exist in his mind; for in slaying another he yields not less to habit than to the impulse of his wild and barbarous nature.

"If, perchance, a murder of this kind is committed so close to a town that there is reason to apprehend the pursuit of justice, every one is eager to favour the flight of the guilty person. The fleetest horse is at his service, and he departs certain to find wherever he goes, the favour and sympathy of all. Then, with that marvellous instinct which is common to all the savage races, he feels no hesitation in venturing into the numerous plains of the pampas. Alone, in the midst of a boundless desert, and in which the eye strains itself in vain to discover a boundary, he advances without the slightest feeling of uneasiness—he does so watching the course of the stars, listening to the winds, watching, interrogating, discovering the cause of the slightest noise that reaches his ears, and he at length arrives at the place he sought, without ever straying for it, even for a moment. The *lasso* which is rolled around his horse's neck; the *bolas* suspended to his saddle, and the inseparable knife suffice to assure him food, and to secure him against every danger—even against the tiger. When he is hungry, he selects one out of the herd of beeves that cover the plain, pursues it, *lassos* it, kills it, cuts out of it a piece of flesh, which he eats raw, or cooks, and thus refreshes himself for the journey of the following day.

"If murder be a common incident in the life of a gaucho, it often also becomes the means to him of emerging from obscurity, and of obtaining renown amongst his associates. When a gaucho has rendered himself remarkable by his audacity and address in single combats, companions gather around him, and he soon finds himself at the head of a considerable party. He 'commences a campaign,' sets himself in open defiance to the laws, and in a short time acquires a celebrity which rallies a crowd about him.

"The greater part of the petty chiefs, *caudillos*, who took part in the events of the Revolution, were indebted for their elevation to circumstances such as we have described. At the head of numerous gauchos, which they picked up in the *estancias*, and whose dangerous instincts they excited, they traversed the country as its masters, invaded the cities, scattering terror around them, and marking their passage by desolation. The Federal system, in sanctioning the Provincial organization, only aided in favouring

their ambition, and increasing still more their influence in the country. When Dorrego and the Federalists of Buenos Ayres, who for a moment rested upon their support, attempted to stop them in their career, it was found that the time for doing so had passed away. With their partizans, who had large bodies of men under their command, these chiefs disposed of the material force of the provinces, and henceforward the government was no longer capable of subduing them. Nurtured in ignorance ; grown up to manhood with the habits of savages ; proceeding always by violence, hostile by nature to the things of civilized life, they advanced against Buenos Ayres for the purpose of destroying there the last obstacle to their triumph. Such were the men who formed the party of the country, and to whom the defeat of Lavalle consigned the fate of the nation.

"Amongst these men there was one whose character readily obtained for him the foremost place, and in whom nature had developed all those qualities which are calculated to strike the minds of the masses and to dominate over them. Marvellously accomplished in all the bodily exercises to which men, accustomed to pass their lives in the midst of wide plains, devote themselves, no one with greater boldness flung himself upon the back of a wild unbroken horse, no lance was more promptly, more surely thrown than his, and never was lasso nor bola flung with more skill than by him—in a word, no one possessed in so pre-eminent a degree, those qualities which render an individual the object of admiration to a crowd, as the person to whom we refer—that person was *Juan Manuel Rosas*.

"Proprietor of an *Estancia*, which, by his intelligence and his rigid management, he rendered a model establishment, and subsequently invited by the richest proprietors of the province of Buenos Ayres to take care of their estates, Manuel Rosas speedily succeeded in exercising an influence, and gaining a command over all who came in contact with him. In the midst of an ignorant population, disposed by instinct to arm themselves on every occasion to follow any person who would offer himself as a leader, it was not difficult for Rosas to create a considerable party to support him. Named first an officer, and then a colonel, he, in a short time, was placed at the head of all his associates ; and when the Federalists of Buenos Ayres committed the fault of seeking a support from without, it was upon him their eyes were cast, and he became the commander of the country party."*

Such is the account given by a Frenchman who has been officially engaged in the affairs of the River Plate, of the early career of General Rosas. It is, in part, corrob-

* M. Chevalier de Saint Robert, pp. 14-17.

rated by General O'Brien, an Irishman, who was engaged in all the wars of independence fought by the colonists against the supremacy of the Spanish Government, and who thus speaks of the career of Rosas :

"Rosas is known to me for five-and-twenty years. For his early education he was indebted to Maza, afterwards president of the Buenos Ayres congress. His calling in life was that of a "Capatos,"—or care-taker of the property of his relatives, the Anchorenas, and this brought him into constant intercourse with the wild Indian tribes of the Pampas. He ingratiated himself greatly with these tribes, for he not only conformed himself to their habits, but he also won the favour of their Caciques by presents, judiciously distributed amongst them.

"This was his state of life until 1820, when the influence of his kinsmen, the Anchorenas, obtained for him the lieutenant colonelcy of the militia of the frontiers of the Indian territory. It was then, and not till then, that he appeared as a soldier. It was to aid Martin Rodriguez in a successful revolution; but once the victory of his friend had been secured, he again retired to the Pampas, put himself in contact with the Patagonian and Pampa Indians, and thus added to his popularity and his influence amongst that savage race of men.

"Rosas maintained his friendly relations with the Indians until the civil war, in 1829, in Buenos Ayres. In that war the President Dorrego was shot by Lavalle, and Rosas at once became the head of the party of Dorrego. With the death of Dorrego commence the calamities of that part of the world.

"The conduct, the bearing, and the demeanour of Rosas, were such as to obtain for him universal approbation. He gained in his favour the opinions of the good, whilst he was concocting schemes for winning the bad. He left the society of civilized men, and again repaired to the Indians. It was under his auspices, it has been since discovered, that the Indians were incited to attack the property of those who were civilized; and their hostility was especially directed by Rosas against all whom he believed would be capable or disposed to resist his attempts at possessing himself of despotic power. He established a camp, which had all the privileges of a sanctuary, for every malefactor in every district, from Buenos Ayres to Upper Peru, and the Cordilleras of the Andes. His protectorate of crime was not avowed, but it was actively exercised. It shielded the criminal from the punishment of man, and it won impunity, by the perpetration of new atrocities upon all who were suspected by Rosas.

"Between 1829 and 1833, Rosas laid the foundation for that despotism which he has since exercised. The means he employed were worse even than the object itself, for they consisted in 'the organization of a band of assassins.' I assure your lordship there is not the slightest exaggeration in the phrase.

"The 'Masorca,' or secret 'affiliation,' in support of Rosas's government, derives its name from the inward stalk of the maize, when deprived of its grain, and has been used by the members of the clubs as an instrument of torture, of which your Lordship may have some idea, when calling to mind the agonizing death inflicted upon Edward II. By the members of this club, assassination of those indisposed to the rule of Rosas, was audaciously in some instances, covertly in more, constantly exercised. Amongst its victims was Maya, the first benefactor of Rosas.

"The estates of all who fell by the hands of the band of Rosas, as well as of those who fled from his vengeance, were seized by him. His absolute command of Buenos Ayres, and his possession of the bank, enabled him to manage the finances of the country, and in 1842 gave to him an army of 10,000 men. Many were collected by fear, from the positive knowledge, that if they did not obey his summons, their fate would be similar to that of men, who having refused to join his troops, were dragged out of their beds at night by members of the Masorca Club, and in the very presence of their wives and children brutally put to death!

"Like as it happened with the early revolutionary armies of France, which had commissioners from the Convention, the soldiers of Rosas were accompanied by individuals of the Masorca Club, and they but too faithfully executed the commission confided to them—that is, depriving the victims of Rosas's vengeance, or suspicion, of life, amid tortures and cruelties that shock humanity but to hear of them.

"My Lord, I know of these tortures being inflicted. At the time that Oribe invaded the Bando Oriental, with the army and the Masorca commissioners of Rosas, I was then residing on my estate in the country. I am aware of wretches being staked into the ground forty-eight hours before their heads were 'sawed,' not 'cut off;'—of the lasso being flung over persons' necks, and then dragged by a horse at full speed until life became extinct;—of spikes being driven into the mouths of human beings, and they, whilst living, thus nailed to trees."*

The character which is here given of General Rosas is enough to fill the mind with horror; but readers, educated with European notions, may suppose that nothing worse can be said of him than what General O'Brien has stated. We can assure them, that if what M. Chevalier de Saint Robert affirms of Rosas be true, the English public have as yet obtained but an inadequate idea of Rosas.

"Every one," says M. Chevalier de Saint Robert, "who has

* Letter of General O'Brien to the Earl of Aberdeen, Dec. 9th, 1844.

visited the provinces of La Plata, and has written about General Rosas, has spoken of his energy, his patience, his cleverness, and his cruelty ; but there is that in him which is paramount to all his other qualities, and which may be said to be the most prominent trait of his character, and that is his science in mendacity, and his skill in working out, even to a most perfect system—a gigantic scheme of lying. It is an accomplishment in which he never has been equalled, and never can be surpassed. It would be difficult to convey an idea of the degree to which this faculty has been developed in the dictator of Buenos Ayres. The only explanation of his being permitted to exercise power for such a length of time, is to be found in this instrument of action, and which he has employed at all times and in all places with a perseverance that cannot but excite our wonder.

"Are the acts of his government denounced to the indignation of Europe, he audaciously denies them even to the very face of those who have been eye-witnesses to them. Is an accusation preferred against himself, he instantly turns it against his adversaries, and unceasingly pursues them with it before the entire world ; and this he does by means of his journal printed in three languages, with which he inundates the American continent, and which his agents sedulously circulate in every part of Europe. Sustained by a dogged obstinacy which defies all obstacles, nothing can make him deviate from the course he has marked out for himself, and unscrupulous as to the means, he knows that time and patience will effect for him all that he desires.

"In this respect Rosas has been perfectly consistent. At the moment in which he consecrated in his own person a government essentially *Unitarian*, by effacing even the last traces of a *federation*, he compelled the population, upon pain of death, to cry out, '*Long live the Federation!*' The same day, on which he substituted his own will for all the codes of the republic, he caused himself to be saluted with the title of 'restorer of the laws!' Whilst his portrait was publicly incensed in the churches, and received, by his order, divine honours, he invoked the vengeance of heaven upon the impious *Unitarians* who daily offend the Almighty.* When, in fine, he let loose, in the broad day, into the streets of Buenos Ayres, bands of assassins, who massacred the population, he could not find tears enough to deplore 'this unhappy popular ebullition, which made his paternal heart bleed !' We do not believe that hypocrisy and audacity ever reached to such an extreme degree of shameless impudence. It

* This statement is so strange, that we feel compelled to give it in the original : "Tandis que son portrait, incensé publiquement dans les églises, reçoit par son ordre les honneurs divins, il appelle les vengeances célestes sur les impies unitaires qui offensent chaque jour le Tout Puissant."—p. 21.

was thus that Europe was misled as to the real character of the events that occurred, and that it accustomed itself to consider as the representative of peace, and as the protector of order, commerce, and civilization, the man who has never ceased for eighteen years to be on the banks of La Plata, the element of sanguinary wars, of crimes, and of violence of every kind.

"Thus, as we have stated, Rosas, invested with a dictatorial power, constituted an *Unitarian* government; but as he had conquered with the Federalists, he called himself a Federal. Yet as the word might mislead the chiefs of the country, and induce them to suppose that there was still a federation of the provinces, which would leave in their hands a local authority, he soon made them understand the sense in which he used the word—'federalism.' The most formidable of the *Caudillos*, General Quiroga, who was called the tiger of the Pampas, was sent on a mission to pacify the provinces of the North. On his return, soldiers who had been placed in ambush for the purpose, murdered him. A few days afterwards, the *Official Gazette* of Buenos Ayres, according to custom announced, that 'the General had been traitorously assassinated by the *savage Unitarians*.* The death of Quiroga, it must be

* "The *Unitarians*, as we have seen, represented the class of citizens the best informed, and the most civilized; but a Journal of Monte Video having called Rosas a *savage*, the dictator adhering to his invariable custom, instantly seized upon the epithet to turn it against his enemies, and from that time forth he never ceased to attach it to their name.—'Repeat the word,' he wrote to the Governor of Santa Fe, 'repeat it always, even to satiety. I know well what I say, when I bid you do this.'"—*Note by M. Chevalier de Saint Robert*, p. 21.

If any thing on such a subject as the present could be ludicrous, it would be to find how scrupulously the orders of Rosas are obeyed in this particular: thus, in the first number of the *Gaceta Mercantil*, which we chanced to take in our hands, we found every advertising column headed by the words—"Viva la Confederacion Argentina! ; Mueran los salvages unitarios!" Thus, has a man a house or piece of land to dispose of, hats to sell, or a bargain of cheap, well-made shoes wherewith to tempt customers, he seeks to ingratiate himself with ladies and gentlemen, merchants and farmers, by crying out, "Long live the Argentine Confederation! Death to the *savage Unitarians*!" This mode of *doing business* appears so strange—we would even say so justly incredible, if not sustained by evidence, that we cannot refrain from demonstrating its truth, by extracting from the *Gaceta Mercantil* four of its advertisements.

"¡Viva la Confederacion Argentina! ; Mueran los salvages unitarios! —Aviso Interesante. Se vende una casa en la calle de los Estados

admitted, not only freed Rosas from the embarrassment which might be caused to him by a bandit who was only inferior to himself in skill and intelligence, but it also opened the lists of proscription which he had drawn up against the chiefs of the country. In a short time the dagger or poison caused the disappearance one after another of all those chiefs, and removed from the surface of the provinces the last elements of opposition. This, however, was but the prelude to that new system of instruction which the country was to receive from Rosas." *

We must pause here in our extracts to pray the reader's attention to what follows; for it will be found to disclose a state of things such as has found no parallel in any part of the world.

"Rosas did much when he completely extinguished any resistance that might have been presented by the provinces, and when he replaced chiefs that might be dangerous, by men taught to bend before the will of a master. His task, however, was not yet completed, for he had to discipline Buenos Ayres. Already the authorities, practised in the part they had to play, had learned that every

Unidos tras de la Concepcion, en terreno de 8 y media varas de frente y 70 de fondo, con 6 piezas habitables, corredores, tres patios, pozo de balde y demas oficinas necesarias, en un precio muy cómodo por el buen estado en que se encuentra.

"¡Viva la Confederación Argentina! ¡Mueran los salvages unitarios! —A los negociantes: en la tienda sombrerería de Manuel Flores, calle de la Victoria núm. 39½ y en su fábrica calle de Federacion núm. 154, habrá siempre un surtido de sombreros de todas clases por mayor y menor á precios muy equitativos.

"¡Viva la Confederacion Argentina! ¡Mueran los salvages unitarios! —Ojo al verdadero baratillo: En la zapatería calle de Cangallo, de la Plaza Nueva media cuadra para el rio, y para senal hay colgada una bota amarilla—

Botas bien hechas	55 ps.
Idem á la francesa, bien trabajads	100 "
Idem de corcho	120 "
Medias botas de becerro frances	45 "

"¡Viva la Confederación Argentina! ¡Mueran los salvages unitarios! —Aviso. En la calle del Paraguay No. 316 hay en venta 1 romana con pilon, 1 prensa de velería, 1 rueda de idem, 2 tachos uno de cobre y el otro de fierro, capacidad de 20 á 25 arrobas, 2 bancos moldes de plomo."

These advertisements are taken from the last page of the *Gaceta Mercantil*, of Wednesday, 21st August, 1844.

* M. Chevalier de Saint Robert, pp. 20, 21, 22.

time the dictator chose to express a desire to retire into private life, they should supplicate him to do violence to his modesty, and bear the burden of power for the happiness of the Republic! Rosas desired something more than this—he stood in need of the incessant acclamations of the multitude. Placing himself before the eyes of the world, as ‘the chosen one’ of the citizens, and the depositary of their wills, he required that all persons, without exception, should be prepared on all occasions to sanction, by their unanimous manifestations, the acts of his Government. It was therefore necessary to *moralise* the entire population, to discipline them in such a manner, that they should, in accordance with his will, be silent or speak, appear spontaneously to be in a rage, or in an enthusiasm of joy; and to do this by a signal, in accordance with the time, and the occasion. A similar system of political education, applied to a city containing fifty thousand souls, had appeared an impossibility to every other person than Rosas; but the Dictator of Buenos Ayres acknowledged no obstacles to his will; and his genius, always fertile in expedients, did not fail him upon this occasion. He determined to place public opinion under the direction of a popular society, that should be guided by himself. The idea itself was not new, but the manner in which it was carried out was full of advantages to himself.

“The accession of Rosas to power, had completely subdued society in the Argentine Provinces, by bringing to the surface the very lowest, meanest, and most degraded portion of the population. In the midst of the gauchos by whom he was surrounded, that is, of men rude, barbarous, ignorant, and the most of them stained with crimes, it was not difficult for Rosas to select instruments suited for his purpose. It was from such he chose the members of his new association, which he founded under the name of the *Mashorea*. The effect of such an institution was soon visible. No sooner was the *Mashorea* established, than terror was every where diffused. There was no longer security for life—every man trembled for his own, as well as that of his family. More formidable than the Jacobin Club, or the Revolutionary tribunal in France, the *Mashorea* decided, without even the forms of a trial, upon the lives of citizens. According to circumstances and the necessities of the moment, its members dispersed themselves over Buenos Ayres, ran through the streets with naked daggers in their hands, raising their voices in enthusiastic acclamations for the dictator, and pitilessly immolating the victims he had designated. Once the *Mashorea* was recognized as the organ through which was conveyed the sovereign decisions of its master, it became the rallying point marked out for all, and its acts the inexorable rule by which were to be guided every species of public manifestation. Men found themselves compelled to submit to the arbitrary dictation of this terrible Club, if they desired to save their own lives, and purchase security for their families.

“The members of the *Mashorea*, or rather the *Mashorqueros* as

they have since been named, exhibited themselves in a red uniform, and bearing as a species of decoration, a red ribbon, on which these words, which were suggested by the dictator, were inscribed: 'Rosas, or Death! Death to the savage, foul, and abominable Unitarians.'— '*Rosas o muerte! Mueran los salvajes, inmundos, asquerosos unitarios!*' Red was instantly adopted as the popular colour. Not only clothes, houses, furniture, vehicles, &c., were made to assume the red, but all things were dyed or painted, or decorated with the same colour. The entire city put on the livery of its master. The ferocious device itself which incarnadined the land, was displayed on every breast. No person, no matter what his condition, dare shrink from it. The actor upon the stage, the priest at the altar, and even the child in the cradle, were alike compelled to wear it. The females, who until then had been respected amid all the excesses of civil war, in vain attempted to escape from the observance of the general rule; but hunted and pursued through the streets by the *Mashorqueros*, and outraged by the most odious violence, they were compelled to yield. After so many scandalous scenes and crimes, further resistance was vain—fear was in the heart of every family—the very atmosphere was poisoned by a panic; and the entire city, absorbed in horror, bowed itself down and submitted. The *Mashorea* rendered the work of the dictator complete: Buenos Ayres was disciplined. Thenceforward Rosas was in enjoyment of the victory he had won; and every where a popular ovation awaited him as he walked about, whilst the male citizens, guided by the *Mashorea* and wearing its colours, saluted him with their acclamations, and decreed to him the titles of '*the hero of the desert,*' '*the saviour of his country,*' and '*the preserver of the laws,*' &c. The most distinguished females of the city attached themselves to a chariot, on which the portrait of Rosas had been placed, and drew it through the streets."*

We will add two more examples of the tyranny, at once cruel and irreligious, of this "saviour of his country." They were related to us by a worthy priest, who had just returned from Buenos Ayres. One evening, shortly before he left, conversation turned, in a most private society, on the state of public affairs. A canon of the cathedral used some such general expression as this: "God grant us better times!" A spy caught the words, and reported them; and next morning the poor priest was marched into the square in front of the cathedral, and shot.

The second instance may show the brutal ignorance of

* M. Chevalier de Saint Robert, pp. 22, 23, 24.

this revolutionary leader. The Spaniards always preface the sign of the Cross by a short prayer, beginning with, "By the sign of the holy Cross:" in Spanish "*Por el senal de la Santa Cruz.*" Now Rosas, being engaged in conflict with General *Santa Cruz*, issued an order forbidding the above prayer, or rather enjoining the substitution, for the obnoxious words, of "*Por el senal de la Santa Constitucion!*"

Here, then, is to be found the portraiture of a man, and of a state of things contemporary with ourselves, for which we may in vain seek a similitude in other times, unless we combine together two of the worst characters that antiquity makes known to us, a *Perennis* and a *Commodus*, to form of both a modern Rosas; like to the first, because of him it can be said, "*quos voluit interemit, spoliavit plurimos, omnia jura subvertit, prædam omnem in sinum contulit;*" like to the latter, not merely because it can be said, "*gladiatorem se perfectum ostenderet,*" and "*misit homines ad provincias regendas, vel criminum socios, vel a criminosis commendatos;*" but because the baseness of fear has made his fellow creatures his sycophants, when perpetrating his worst of crimes: "*quum adulterum matris consulem designasset appellatus est Pius, quum occidisset Perennem, appellatus est Felix.*"*

An interest, assuredly, must attach to an event like that of the five years' siege of Monte Video, when it is known, that during that time the town has been invested by the army, and its port blockaded by the fleet of Rosas. The marvel is, how any place could for such a period of time resist the unceasing efforts of a man like Rosas. Unaided, it certainly could not have done so; but, fortunately for Monte Video, it found allies and supporters both in France and England; from the former constant, from the latter occasional assistance, but still, whenever rendered, of inestimable value.

In 1838, a collision took place between Rosas and France, which led to the blockade of Buenos Ayres by that power. The provinces which groaned under the tyranny of Rosas were incited by France to rise in insurrection against him, and they did so. Rivera, the President of the Oriental del Uruguay, countenanced this

* *Ælius Lampridius, Commodus. Ant.*

movement at the head of a large army, and Lavalle, the former governor of Buenos Ayres, was within five leagues of that city. Such was the desperate condition of Rosas, when the embarrassments caused by the war of Syria, and the expectation on the part of France that it would be engaged in hostilities with England, induced the French admiral to make peace with Rosas.

This peace re-established the power of Rosas. It was followed instantly by assassinations in the country and in the town; "whilst citizens, torn from their habitations, were murdered in the streets of Buenos Ayres, a car preceded by musicians traversed the town to pick up the dead bodies, and the heads of human beings were publicly exposed in the market."*

Peace with France led to the war with the Oriental del Uruguay, and the siege of Monte Video; for Rosas felt that as long as the Oriental del Uruguay existed as an independent state, there was a formidable rival to his policy in his neighbourhood, and a safe refuge for his enemies, whilst the port of Monte Video, being a free port to all the world, interfered with his desire to exclude foreigners from settling on the rich lands that are watered by the Parana and the Uruguay. The pretence for this invasion was, that Oribe, who was then a lieutenant of his own, and had formerly been president of Monte Video, had been unjustly expelled, and now sought at the head of an army to recover his former office. An army of twelve thousand men was given to Oribe for that purpose. In a battle fought at Arroyo Grande between Oribe the Ex-president, and Rivera the President of the Oriental del Uruguay, Rivera was defeated, and the siege of Monte Video was commenced. Against this invasion the English and French governments both urgently protested, and both called upon Rosas to abandon "the sanguinary war" in which he was engaged.†

Guided by the wisdom of such men as Suarez and Manuel Herrera y Obes; sustained by the patriotism and

* M. Chevalier de Saint Robert, p. 27. See note same page where extracts are given from the Official Gazette of Rosas, demonstrating the cruelties and crimes directly sanctioned by him.

† See Mr. Mandeville's Summons to Don Felipe Arana, dated Buenos Ayres, December, 16th, 1842.

devotion of its citizens, and its walls defended by the arms of its French and Italian legions, Monte Video has for five, it may be said for six, years defied the threats, and repelled the attacks of its assailants. During those long, trying, and perilous years, many incidents worthy of narration took place; but we shall refer to one only amongst them. It occurred in the year 1845, when, to the honour of England, and the glory of France, their fleets were united together and at Point Obligado, in the river Parana, defeated the forces of Rosas, and opened up for the purpose of commerce those waters which he sought to close against the world.

Thrice has that extraordinary man, Rosas, been saved from the destruction which impended over him, and each time by means of events that occurred in Europe; first, by the quarrel that arose between England and France with respect to the war in Syria; secondly, by the unexpected change that took place in the English government in 1846; lastly, by the February (1848) revolution in France, which paralyzed the arm of the most determined of his foes. The ways of Providence are inscrutable; and it is not for weak mortals to anticipate what may be the destiny reserved for him, whom we cannot but consider as the greatest criminal of modern times; nor what may be the uses to which may be applied one of the richest, noblest portions of the globe, which is either now, though productive, as destitute of population as the wilderness, or which the passions of a few, and the sordid selfishness of one man have begrimed with blood, or defaced with deeds of horror so terrible, that they seem to be not the acts of human beings, but of incarnate demons.

In attempting to draw the attention of the public to the events of La Plata, we have purposely avoided touching upon any one of those questions on which diplomatists have differed, and that may be made the subject of party differences. Amid a pile of documents and a multiplicity of subjects, we have endeavoured to fix the public attention upon those matters in which it is alone interested—the nature of the combat, and the character of the combatants. One of these being Rosas, a man whose policy is the exclusion of foreigners, and the embarrassment of their trade by enormous duties, unjust restrictions, and the circulation of paper money to such an enormous extent, that in the year 1845, “the Buenos Ayrian paper dollar was not

worth more than 4½d.; the other of these being the Monte Video government, whose "policy in every respect is the reverse," for it "gives every part of the republic all the advantages of foreign commerce."*

We conclude by showing, and that by a single extract from the letter of General O'Brien to Lord Clarendon, how deep an interest unfortunate Ireland has, or had, in the defeat of Rosas, and the pacification of all the states around La Plata :

"My Lord," (says General O'Brien, writing in 1848), "I left England last year for the purpose of giving effect to the same plan, which, if I had been permitted, I would have accomplished in 1823, and I resolved, if it were possible, to secure it in some place which might be sheltered from the aggressions of Rosas, (should he be inclined to attack men merely because they were Irish emigrants,) whilst they should be safe from the distractions of civil war.

"My Lord, I have now returned to England: I have so far succeeded in the project I have so long cherished. I have, (to commence with,) secured for Irish emigrants on the east side of the Uruguay, nearly a million of acres of the finest land in the world—a pure virgin soil, abundantly supplied with wood and water, and the worst acre of which is equal to the best land in England.

"The fee simple of this is purchasable from 3s. 6d. to 5s 6d. per acre, the price varying between these two points according to locality. And I have secured this land in the very heart of the Orientals, who are ready to receive the Irish as brothers—to greet them as the compatriots of those who shed their best blood in fighting for, and winning the independence of the several states of South America.

"There is a home—there is welcome—there is food—there is land—there is the certainty of prosperity for the Irishman in the Oriental Republic del Uruguay. All that is required—all that is wanted to raise him from his squalid misery, is the expense of transit from Ireland to Monte Video, a steam voyage of thirty days. This can be effected at an expense of about £8 for each individual.

"Bear in mind, my Lord, that the Uruguay, on the banks of which I propose to place those Irish emigrants, is navigable for more than a thousand miles—that it passes through rich and fruitful countries to the back settlements of Brazil—that it finds access to Paraguay, to Bolivia, and to Peru, by the two great navigable rivers, the Bermejo and the Pilcamajo—that it runs along soils

* Observations on the present state of the affairs of the River Plate, by Thomas Baines, pp. 3—11.

rich in everything but inhabitants ; for even the Oriental Republic del Uruguay may be said to be uninhabited, when its native population has not more than eighty thousand, if it makes population fill a space of land as large as that of England ; and yet, that it, as well as the countries beyond it, which have been visited by the officers of Her Majesty's Navy, have been the constant subject of their wonder, their admiration, and their praise. My Lord, there is not an admiral, a commodore, nor a captain in her majesty's service who has been in those countries, to whom I do not refer you, perfectly confident that they will bear out my assertion, when I declare, that in climate as in soil, they may be regarded as the very finest portions of the globe."*

ART. III.—1. *The Military Life of John, Duke of Marlborough.* By ARCHIBALD ALISON, F.R.S., author of the "History of Europe." With Maps and Plans. Blackwood, 1848.

2. *Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough, with his Original Correspondence.* By WILLIAM COXE, &c. A new edition, revised, (and with Notes,) by JOHN WADE. Three vols., with Maps and Plans. 'Bohn's Standard Library.' Bohn, 1848.

3. *The Cabinet Portrait Gallery of British Worthies*, vol. xi. 'Knight's Weekly Volume for all Readers.' Cox, 1846.

4. *The Letters and Dispatches of John Churchill, First Duke of Marlborough, from 1702 to 1712.* Edited by General the Right Hon. Sir GEORGE MURRAY. Five vols. London, Murray, 1845.

5. *Journals of Sieges carried on by the Army under the Duke of Wellington in Spain, during the years 1811 to 1814; with Memoranda relative to the Lines thrown up to cover Lisbon in 1810.* By the late Major-General Sir JOHN T. JONES, Bart. K.C.B. Third edition, with Notes and Additions. Edited by Lieutenant-Colonel H. D. JONES, R. E. Three vols. 8vo. Weale, 1846.

6. *Aide-Memoire to the Military Sciences ; framed from contributions of Officers of the different Services, and edited by a Committee of the Corps of Royal Engineers.* Vol. i., and vol. ii. part 1. London : Weale, 1845—1848.

IT is not very easy for a civilian to judge the merit of military achievements, otherwise than by the authority

* Letter of General O'Brien to the Earl of Clarendon, lithographed for private circulation.

of military men ; nor sometimes very easy even by that authority. To say nothing of Colonel Mitchel and Napoleon, go back no further than the Seven Years' War. We see there, renowned generals, fierce battles, rapid marches ; a scanty population in an open country, defending itself against confederate nations who assail it on all sides ; the unequal contest maintained for seven campaigns by the genius of one man, against experience, valour, and numbers ; the capacity of the generals on both sides lauded with a rare unanimity, and alike by critics professional and non-professional ; the war itself creating, or supposed to create, a new era in the military art ; to have shared in it a proof of merit from which there was no appeal ; new exercise and new evolutions introduced into every army of Europe on the faith of Prussian victories ; "short clothes, little hats, tight breeches, high-heeled shoes,"* becoming everywhere the rage as military equipments, because they were Prussian ; and finally, the author of this costume, of these exercises, of these wonderful victories, of this heroic constancy and marvellous fertility of resources, unanimously crowned by astonished and admiring Europe, with a style and title of "the Great." What is here wanting in the shape of authority, to impress the judgment of the unlearned student ? The verdict both of friends and enemies was unanimous, and even time so far sanctioned it, that it was growing into a venerable and unchallenged antiquity of merit, when thirty years later the French revolution burst upon the world, and defaced this, as well as so many older and more seasoned relics of bygone times.

When the critic of Napoleon's campaigns touches upon this once famous struggle, he treats it with very scanty reverence. So far from being a war with giants, he almost finds it to be a war of pigmies. The military art at that period, instead of advancing, went back a step, and brought us not very far from the ignorance of the middle age. In the Austrian armies especially it was a decided retrogression and not improvement. Though Marshal Daun, who then enjoyed a huge reputation, understood pretty well how to arrange an encampment and to draw up a line of battle, he had no title to the credit of a great captain, and in his

* General Lloyd.

place an ordinary general of our times would have crushed Frederic and seized Prussia. Frederic indeed towers above the small fry by whom he is surrounded; but, as a warrior, is great mainly by the contrast. Strategy, the art of profiting by victory, the great operations of war, were unknown to him; he was saved by nothing but the extravagantly absurd conduct of his enemies; and his fall was become inevitable, just when their impolicy gave him life by the peace of Hubertsberg. Thus writes the great military critic of our age;* and when instructed professional judgments, with only an interval of ten years between them,† can thus fluctuate with regard to an art which in its main principles is admitted to be stationary, which with every possible discrepancy of detail, is the same in substance under Hannibal and Cæsar as under Napoleon and Wellington, what security can the civilian feel in the accuracy or value of his *unprofessional* guesses after the truth?

And yet here, as in so many other things, Time is the great rectifier of mistaken opinions. What has stood the test of many changes of form—what is equally appreciated by different ages, different nations, different characters of men—what is recognized as containing an essential value under all shiftings of fashion, methods and details—this in any art may safely be pronounced *genuine*. Upon these matters, therefore, many rehearsals are necessary, and it is only when Time has probed the case on all sides, and fathomed its deepest recesses, that a final verdict can be said to be pronounced.

With such an example before us, however, those readers of history who are studious of their country's military fame, may be disposed to shrink a little from apprehension, lest under the searching investigation of later times, other great names, of which we are habitually proud, may have a like fate with that of Frederic. We say nothing of Cromwell, whose military skill forms, perhaps, a subordinate part of his just fame; but what shall we say of Marlborough? the "Great Duke" of the eighteenth century; the rival and friend of Prince Eugene; the hero of Blenheim and Ramilies; the terror and humbler of France, in what was

* Jomini on the Seven Years' War—passim, and particularly vol. i. pp. 50, 323: vol. iii. pp. 238, 323, 336.

† Jomini's first work was written in 1803.

then the very plenitude of her strength? Is this another instance of exaggerated reputation? Is the manor of Woodstock, not merely in its present keeping, but in the very source and origin of the grant, a quackery and a sham? Was Marlborough, too, only Gulliver among the Lilliputians, and did he seem great only because his antagonists were dwarfs? The loudly expressed verdict of his own times was very different, and in various ways succeeding generations of Englishmen have made known that they still feel it right to be proud of the only military reputation pretending to the highest grade that we have to show between Cromwell and Wellington; that is, during a century and a half.

A suspicious mind would hardly be satisfied, however, with this tacit English complacency. The things done seem great still, but have they really been subjected to a fresh examination? Is what we now hear more than the echo of past homage? Or have the achievements with which all Europe rung when they were performed, been strictly tested by the principles of our later warfare? Jomini, so far as our knowledge of his writings extends, says little of Marlborough. He speaks of him, indeed, in the same breath with Eugene and Turenne, a trio whom he seems to *contrast*, rather than compare, with Frederic. Eugene he calls with admiration, "the greatest captain of his age;" he speaks of Cæsar, Scipio, and the consul Nero applying the true principles of war "as well as Marlborough and Eugene, not to say better;" and in other places he treats the campaigns of these heroes of the eighteenth century as not unworthy to be named with those of his own time.*

We must not forget, too, the testimony of a greater than Jomini. Napoleon had a very high opinion of the military genius of the English captain; regretted that the "hero of Blenheim" was not better known to French readers; and to put an end to this neglect, ordered *the* French life of Marlborough to be written, printed at the imperial press, and adorned with a map of the theatre of war, "*gravée par ordre de sa Majesté impériale et royale Napoleon 1er.*" How far this work can be taken as expressing Napoleon's views in *detail*, it is hard to say. It

* *Precis*, vol. i. pp. 17, 125, 273, 289.

was compiled from very imperfect materials, which, for the English side of the story, were of little more value than the Gazettes and newspapers of the day—Coxe and the despatches not having then shown themselves—and, if a civilian may be allowed to pronounce, its judgments seem to bear very little resemblance to the searching criticism of Jomini or Napier. If the reader knew which passages contained the sentence of Napoleon, and which the *guesses* of M. Madgett and the Abbé Dutems, he would study it with a little more confidence and satisfaction; but, if *we* may supply ignorance by guesses, we should be tempted to say, that the comparison between Eugene and Marlborough, with which the first volume closes, may in substance have fallen from the lips of the French emperor. The writer describes both as great and enterprising warriors; Eugene more circumspect, and his skill the fruit of careful study, the result of great labour applied to the perfection of a large and apt capacity. On the other hand, Marlborough was “a soldier truly original, whose knowledge was gained less in the school of Turenne and some other generals, than in that of his own thoughts and his own actions. He was like a creative genius, unshackled in his soaring, and without a model for his achievements. Endowed with a native warlike instinct, he was born a general, as other men have been born poets. Victory remained constantly faithful to him, and if he committed faults, success was always his apology.”

Success, indeed, *will* always be an unfailing apology in the eyes of the multitude. But a writer of authority, who has been recently described as “generally uncandid and biassed where the British army and its commanders are concerned,”* declares that a study (amongst others) of Marlborough’s campaigns confirmed him in his rediscovery of the true principles of war;† and when, besides this, it has been not untruly said of Marlborough, that “in twenty campaigns, ten of which were successive, he passed all the rivers and lines he attempted, took all the towns he invested, won all the battles he fought, and was never surprised by the enemy;”‡ it is difficult not to give very great

* Aide Memoire to the Military Sciences, vol. i. p. 1.

† Jomini’s *Precis*, vol. i. p. 16. ‡ Lediard, *Preface*, p. xxiii.

weight to this outward criterion of merit. Still, even for civilians, this general praise and superficial test must always be more or less unsatisfactory. The age having been made familiar, not merely with military events, but to an extent unprecedented, with popular delineations of them by soldiers of no ordinary stamp, one is anxious to know not merely that a certain commander was a great general, but *why* he was so. In the pages of Napier, the reader has learned to fancy that he can gauge Wellington's greatness; that he appreciates pretty accurately the causes of his success, the value of his campaigns, the obstacles he encountered, and the height and character of his genius. The Peninsular war is henceforth laid bare to us; it has become in a double sense *our own*; with this guide at our elbow we can give full vent to our patriotic enthusiasm, can feel that we are not applying at random our praise and admiration, but that our judgments proceed on something like true military ground. When will be, or rather why is not, something like this service rendered for the other great duke, and his not less illustrious fellow soldiers?

We have, to be sure, Coxe's life; an invaluable work, for reprinting which at so cheap a price, the public owes Mr. Bohn many thanks. The Archdeacon's Memoir will always retain its value—a value which the Marlborough Despatches, invaluable as they are, have in no way lessened, even if we should not be disposed to agree with his present Editor, Mr. Wade, that the documents which Sir George Murray gave to the world passed through Mr. Coxe's hands. For it is certain that, if not to these very despatches, he had access to a correspondence perhaps even more voluminous and private, of which, for the present, his life affords the only published record, and, there is every reason to believe, a very faithful abstract. We are far from sharing the doubts of the present editor, whether Mr. Coxe "has not been occasionally too lavish in the introduction of elucidatory correspondence;" on the contrary, it is these very documents which give his work their true value, and his text has little other merit than that of being, as we suppose, a veracious abstract of what he has not thought proper to transcribe. The Archdeacon was a biographer of the eulogistic breed; a warm lover of great Whig official personages; not very profound or discriminating; a little too lavish of a rather questionable hero-

worship; but on the whole, laborious, trustworthy, and exact. This is his only real merit. He was not a great biographer, even in civil matters; how, then, can a civilian be expected to place confidence in the very reverend author's military criticisms? These, too, are all of the eulogistic kind. For anything we can tell, they may all be in the highest degree judicious; but they want the stamp of high professional authority; they do not fix the reader's belief; they do not satisfy such reason as he can exert on military topics; they do not enable him to see and understand for himself how far Marlborough's campaigns were (or were not) the application of that "small number of fundamental principles of war" which lie at the basis of all genuine success.

This work of his, whatever may be written hereafter, will still remain of standard interest and necessity, by reason of the materials of which it is composed. At this moment it forms, unless Mr. Alison's volume be now an exception, the only authority for English readers on the war of which it treats; and even in Colonel Hamilton's "Sketch of the Science and Art of War," prefixed to the new "Aide Memoire," in a list of French and German books on the history of the art, we see none that relates to Marlborough except Coxe's life. The third work on our list contains a spirited, intelligent, and impartial sketch, which *may* have been written by a military pen, and which well deserves perusal. We shall, as we advance, have to cull from it a few extracts, and to make upon it a few comments, which, as we do not know its authorship to be military, will be made with the same freedom as if the biographer were a civilian like ourselves.

Mr. Alison's "Military Life" is, of course, the work of a civilian; but of one who has made military affairs his peculiar study. His History of Europe since the French Revolution, is well known as a work of standard value—by reason not so much of its philosophical acumen or brilliancy of scene painting, as of its patient, assiduous, methodical collection, into a not unskilful narrative, of the wide-spread and diversified materials which make up the public transactions of the period he has undertaken to record. We often differ with him in opinion; we often think him not very profound. But none can deny him the praise of a rare impartiality; and his history seems to us quite as profound as that of M. Thiers, for example,

and in the distinctness of its facts a thousand times more useful and trustworthy. To the military part of his story, which embraces the entire career of Napoleon and the Peninsular War, Mr. Alison has given special attention; and though the vividness and grandeur of his narrative bears no comparison with that of Napier, it cannot be denied that he has earned the praise of considerable merit. The present work is of much slighter texture than the History, is more purely military in its object, and therefore, we think, is not so successful. The design of it is precisely what we desire, but the execution of the design by one whose knowledge of war is wholly theoretical, does not quite satisfy us. It is a good digest of the information contained in Coxe and the Despatches, but we doubt whether it can make good its pretensions to be a handbook for "the young men who are to succeed Marlborough in the noble profession" of arms. For civilians it is well suited, and though not unexceptionable, supplies a want which has been often felt. But professional students require, we should think, either the original materials to study for themselves, or a text book containing the judgments of one who unites in his own person theory and practice. Mr. Alison has done perhaps all that can be done by a civilian; but he can hardly raise himself to the dignity of a great military Teacher.

Some of his positions, indeed, other writers, who are indeed authorities, have taught us to distrust. We cannot examine these in detail, but must give one as an example. What Jomini says of Frederic the Great we have already seen. Our author uses very different language, and exalts Frederic's strategy to a level even with Napoleon's.

"No man ever made more skilful use of an interior line of communication, or fled with such rapidity from one threatened part of his dominions to another. None, ever, by the force of skill in tactics, and sagacity in strategy, gained such astonishing successes with forces so inferior.* * * Frederic's deeds, as a general, were more extraordinary than those of the French emperor, because he bore up longer against greater odds. It is the highest praise of Napoleon to say, that he did in one campaign—his last and greatest—what Frederic had done in six."

As we said of Mr. Coxe, so we say of Mr. Alison, his verdict may, for aught we know, be the true one, but we cannot feel much confidence in it when opposed to that of

Jomini; any more than we can consent to believe with him (p. 150.) in opposition to other military writers, that Marshal Villeroi "was an *able* and determined general." We respect Mr. Alison's opinions, but on such high matters, we desiderate a voice of greater authority.

It is difficult to speculate on the military achievements of one of our "great dukes," without recurring to those of the other, so like are they in character and position, and yet with so many unlikenesses. Every one is tempted to ask, which was the greater? Napoleon gave the preference to Marlborough; but his verdict is too obviously a burst of natural indignation to be of much moment. His admiration of Marlborough was genuine, as Madgett's life fully testifies; but the depreciation of his own conqueror will not weigh much with the posterity which can still read the fourth codicil of Napoleon's will. Napier gives the preference the other way. "More than the rival of Marlborough," he says, "since he had defeated greater warriors than Marlborough ever encountered."* Perhaps this would hardly be taken, even by the writer, as a final verdict; at least, it is impossible for us to read the exploits of these heroes without feeling of both of them that they were greater than their acts; that what they did affords an inadequate measure of what they were able to do. Wellington said of his own army, that with such troops he could go anywhere, and do anything. Of Marlborough, who came, be it observed, not *after* Napoleon, but *before* him, and who created his own art, the same thing seems true. He, too, one imagines, might have gone anywhere, and done anything. Wellington had many greater difficulties to encounter, in want of provisions and inferiority of force. But, at all events, he was the commander of his own troops, the author of his own campaigns. In his greatest campaign, he had not to take the command, day about, with some Louis of Baden. When Marmont made a false manœuvre at Salamanca, he had not to ask leave of any Dutch or Spanish deputies to pour down his light division upon their severed line. "The first element of success in war is, that everything should emanate from a single head."† Whatever Marlborough did, he accomplished

* Vol. v. p. 212.

† Napier, vol. ii. p. 452.

wanting that first element of success, and he must be judged accordingly. Once in the Peninsula, Wellington found himself in a like case, holding a divided command, and brought by it to the brink of ruin. He vowed that it should never happen more. "I have fished," he said, "in many troubled waters, but Spanish troubled waters I will never try again." Marlborough found that Dutch troubled waters were as bad as Spanish, and he had to fish in them the whole war through.

Wellington, we suppose, did greater things in the field; but it may be doubted whether he could have succeeded so long as Marlborough in keeping together a confederate army, and confederate courts; whether the "*iron Duke*" could have done it; whether there was not needed a greater pliancy of temperament than the iron duke has been famous for. Signal, indeed, are the resemblances between them in the possession of that indomitable fire and spirit of enterprise beneath a calm and composed exterior; that inexhaustible patience, fitting them to wear down all obstacles by stubborn endurance, and to untie the most complicated knots; that wonderful self-possession, both as to means and ends, which rendered them masters of all shifts of fortune, ready to turn in every direction according to the necessities of the occasion; and though loving the highest flights of enterprise, yet at a moment able to descend from these to the humblest occupations of a more limited and ignoble warfare. Both were English to their heart's core, subduing the most buoyant and indefatigable energy under the mastery of the clearest good sense and practical wisdom. Yet, as we have said, it may be doubted whether Wellington could have kept the coalition together as Marlborough did. The first was all but hooted out of Spain when his great services were rendered, and he was in the height of his glory; the second, though fallen, broken, and in exile, was received by the phlegmatic Dutch with enthusiastic gratitude and marks of touching devotion. To keep together the European confederacy of that day needed something else than *iron*; was fitter work for what William called that "coldest of heads and warmest of hearts;" but what was rather the cold head *and* heart—the selfish, disengaged, good nature—the stately, unctuous, flattering, and winning manners which characterized Turenne's "handsome Englishman," the "ladies' man" of Charles the Second's court.

It is strange how late in life the work comes to some men for which only they seem born. Wellington has been in active service almost from his boyhood, and whenever he might have died, he would have had the measure of renown fitted for his years. At thirty-four he had gained one of the greatest Indian victories, and a lasting name in the history of that empire; at forty-five he had swept eight French marshals out of Spain, earned a marshal's baton for himself, crossed the Pyrenees, and risen by due gradation and hard service through every step in the peerage. But if Marlborough had died at the age of fifty, his name would not have been worth a leaf in the most voluminous history that ever was written. It could have told no more, in substance, than that an active and enterprising officer, whose first rise was owing to the judicious use of money, doubtfully, if not infamously acquired; whose gratitude was, with emphasis, a lively sense of *future* favours; and who had performed some minor services—had risen by court favour to high court station, and had enjoyed the distinguished honour of betraying two successive monarchs.

If he had died then we should never perhaps have heard of, or should have quite forgotten, Turenne's "handsome Englishman;" and that famous wager on his prowess; and the public thanks he received from Louis the Great; and William's eulogy, that "he knew no man who had served so few campaigns equally fit for command;" and Prince Vaudemont's encomium, that over and above "Kirk's fire, Laneir's thought, Mackay's skill, and Colchester's bravery," there was "something inexpressible in Marlborough, something in his very physiognomy which announced the height of military glory to which this combination of sublime perfections must raise him." These, no doubt, *true* stories were fished up from oblivion for the honour of *the Duke*; and if he had died at fifty, he would have been to us and to posterity as are Kirk, and Laneir, and Mackay, and Colchester, of whose military greatness no soul now knows or cares a word. His great deeds were done, his great name earned, his great correspondence written, not in the prime of life, but when falling into the sere and yellow leaf; when his strong frame is beginning to fail; when his "eyes are so bad, that I do not see what I do;" when he is habitually "mad with headache;" has a "continual fever on his spirits that makes

him very weak ;" is troubled with " cold fits of ague and with gout ;" has become " so lean that, if not well nursed in the winter, I shall certainly be in a consumption ;" and at times is not able to mount his horse. Yet, with all these ailments, he contrives to be at a stretch " seventeen hours on horseback," when, if he " were in London, he would be in his bed in a high fever ;" and when, in effect, the surgeon has to make him let blood. Another time he marches, fights, pursues his victory, is on horseback for two-and-thirty hours, and then dismounts to fill a quire of paper with his correspondence. Then we see him, at the age of fifty-eight, doing double duty ; commanding Eugene's army as well as his own before Lille ; and before Ghent, in a Flemish fog at Christmas, paddling with his feet in the wet trenches, and earning " so great a cold, and sore throat, that it is very uneasy to me to hold down my head." This, and, moreover, to manage at the same time Dutchmen, Prussians, Hessians, electors, kings, queens, emperors, English whigs, English Tories, and, above all, the Duchess of Marlborough, it must be admitted was no child's play.

But, though it was his fate to spend the evening of his days thus assiduously labouring for his country's service and glory, it has also been his strange lot to pay for the selfish versatility of his youth, and the avaricious meanness of his old age, a hard penalty which avenges where he has not erred. Human justice and human fame are very wonderful things, not much to be thought of in the heat of affairs by the wise, but by all practicable means to be diligently corrected when they greatly err, and when a reasonable opportunity offers. The slander runs, and it is innocently repeated by the present editor,* that Marlborough dragged on the war from year to year, for the base motive of putting money in his purse ; and the editor applies this imputation even to his conduct in the field. Is this, which we have called a slander, true ? Sir George Murray pronounced it false. We should like to have military authority for it at all events ; and if our literature contained such a monument of Marlborough's achievements, as Napier has reared for all time out of Wellington's peninsular campaigns, the question would receive a

* Coxe, vol. iii. p. 254, Editor's note.

satisfactory final answer. As it is, civilians are left pretty much at the mercy of their own guesses; though we confess that, in our eyes, few charges seem so ungrounded—so much the reverse of true.

In his own time he was assailed, as is the world's wont, by two inconsistent accusations. His vigorous campaigning was denounced as a reckless waste of human life, and as inspired by an anxiety to fill his pocket with the price of slain officers' commissions. Waterloo and Albuera stand between him and any such reproach in the present day. But then his contemporaries, who abused him when he fought, abused him also when he did not fight; wouldn't let him engage here, would make him engage there; quarrelled with Malplaquet, and, two years later, wanted another Malplaquet with the sting of a defeat in its tail. What seems clear to the present writer is, that if Marlborough had been really, as well as nominally, generalissimo, the war would have ended, not in ten years, but in three; and that, without Marlborough, the high allies would, on the whole, have endured a disgraceful defeat, Prince Eugene notwithstanding.

From first to last, Marlborough—much more than Prince Eugene—burned with impatience to put a Napoleonic conclusion to the war, but was, as all the world knows, tied back by a Dutch council, composed of field deputies and generals, who, in the Prince's estimation "knew nothing but defensive warfare."* Imagine Napoleon controlled by Dutch deputies and defensive generals! Where would have been the Italian campaigns—Montenotte, Lodi, Arcola, and Rivoli? Where Ulm and Austerlitz? Nay, what would have become of Napoleon in 1809, after the defeat of Aspern, if, in the island of Lobau, he had yielded to a council, not of Dutch deputies, but of masters in the art of war, his own veteran marshals, who were unanimous in giving advice which would have rendered safety doubtful, and the victory of Wagram impossible?

Now this, or rather infinitely worse than this, was the condition of Marlborough throughout the war. The first battle (Ramilies) he fought in the Netherlands, cleared Brabant and Flanders almost to the frontier; made a

* Coxe, vol. ii. p. 130.

regular *sauve qui peut* of the French garrisons, of which many surrendered without a blow; nay, almost drove Louis the Great to take refuge behind the Loire, for the road to Paris seemed laid open, and the authority of Vauban was needed to convince him that Paris was defensible, and Vauban's genius to prepare a plan for its defence.* This great blow, struck in the fifth year of the war (1706), might have been struck just as effectively in the first, (1702.) Marlborough prepared for it in the first, and rendered it possible in that year, not once, but twice; and in succeeding years how often! A council of war never fights; and Ramilies was fought only because he had managed to slip his neck out of the collar, as he writes to Godolphin: "We had no council of war," and "I hope to have none this whole campaign." By one act alone, if he had had his own way, Marlborough would have struck from the war three out of the ten years it lasted.

In 1702 the routed generals would have been Marshal Boufflers and the Duke of Burgundy; and how certain and how great a rout it would have been, the reader may yet see with his own eyes through the spectacles of a looker-on—General Kane—whose description both Mr. Coxe and Mr. Alison have omitted to transcribe. This is how Marlborough labours to strike his first stroke:

"My Lord Marlborough, finding there was no attacking them in the camp they were in, formed a scheme to draw the enemy after him. Our army lay encamped within two leagues of them, with our right close to the Meuse, over which my Lord ordered bridges to be laid, under pretence of supplying the camp with forage from the other side of the river. As soon as the bridges were finished, he made a grand forage, which looked as if he designed to continue for some time in this camp; but the next evening, on beating the tattoo, orders came to strike our tents to march. Whereupon we passed the river, and continued marching all that night and the next day, at which time we came up with the Castle of Gravenbrook, in which were 300 of the enemy, who, refusing to surrender at discretion, stood it out about four hours, till the castle-works were beat about their ears.....From hence we continued on march the same evening to Hubert's Lill, where we pitched our camp.

"The enemy were surprised when they found my Lord had given them the slip, but were much more so when they found he had got

* This plan was published in 1821, from Vauban's MS.

between them and home ; whereupon they decamped, and marched along the river till they came within two leagues of Vinte, and then passed it and encamped within two leagues of our army, and were in great perplexity to get by us.

“ Marshal Tallard at this time had a flying camp of about 12 or 14,000 men in these parts, to take care of their lines, to whom the Duke of Burgundy sent to advance towards us, to favour his attempt.

“ Our army had at a little distance in front a large heath, over which the enemy could not avoid passing. The enemy halted in their camp.

“ The day after they had passed the river, and the morning following, they made a grand forage, as if *they* designed to make some stay ; but my Lord knew very well it was no camp for them to dwell in, and that that forage was a feint to get by him next morning. He thereupon ordered his army to strike their tents, and send them with all the baggage away to Gravenbrook, and lie on our arms all night, to be ready to fall on the enemy in the morning as they passed the heath. As my Lord judged, it happened ; for the enemy’s beating the tattoo, they struck their camp, and marched with all possible expedition, and were entering the heath by dawn ; at which time my Lord had the army under arms and ready to march, when the Field Deputies came and prayed him to desist, notwithstanding they had the evening before consented.

“ My Lord was very much chagrined at this disappointment, for in all human probability we should have given the enemy a fatal blow. So my Lord, not being willing to do anything this first campaign without their approbation, with great reluctance complied, and returned with the army. However, he desired they would ride out with him to see the enemy pass the heath, which they did, and were surprised to see their great hurry and confusion, and confessed a great opportunity was lost by their means.....Thus they had a narrow escape of being cut to pieces ; ’tis true, Tallard appeared at a distance, which was the only motive that induced the Field Deputies against engaging, nor could they tell how my Lord Marlborough might behave when he came to engage.”—Kane’s *Memoirs*, pp. 33-35.*

* If there were such a body corporate as a Military Camden Society, we would earnestly recommend to them this volume of memoirs for republication. It contains curious details about the older military operations in Ireland, Flanders, and Germany, which we believe are not to be found elsewhere. “ The regiment of foot that I served in, is well known by the title of the Royal Regiment of Ireland ; from which regiment, I may without vanity say, our British infantry had the groundwork of their present discipline.”—

When Marlborough got his arms loose to carry out his own purposes, it was never without infinite management and dexterity. The only year in which he got loose with any sort of completeness, was in the famous Blenheim year—the campaign to which Addison dedicated his loftiest notes, and the fame of which Woodstock still more solidly perpetuates. Even that great Danubian exploit, however, was not so much as begun—far less accomplished—without hoodwinking the ministers at home, the States-general at the Hague, the German princes whose forces he was to press into the service, and of course his own officers. At first he has no very definite plan, but would like to go to the Moselle. This has been the story at Vienna, at the Hague, at Hanover, at Berlin, and even at London. On the 29th of April he has not “come to any final resolution upon the operations of the campaign,” but in two or three days it will be known “what strength we can make for the Moselle;” this is enough for the English Secretary of State. On the same day he is a little more explicit with the Prince of Hesse, who has a command under him. It is necessary for this Prince to know that, though at the Hague the last resolutions are not yet taken, “*my* resolution is to serve with the troops of her majesty on the Moselle, and I know you will approve this, and I shall have the honour of your highness’s dear company.” On the 2nd of May, having been at the Hague since the middle of April, he, for the first time, informs the States-General of his intention to separate the English army from theirs, for an expedition to the Moselle, whither—and even beyond—he is to prevail on them, though with infinite difficulty, to send some of their own regiments. On the 5th, as he leaves the Hague, he sends word to Berlin and to Hanover that he is going to the Moselle, “or perhaps even higher, according to the exigency of affairs;” and presses very humbly that orders may be given to the Prussian troops to hasten their march as much as possible, “it being so necessary for the safety of

p. 1. If any “studious officer” is engaged, as Jomini (*Precis*, vol. ii. p. 79) recommends, in preparing a collection of the most interesting coups-de-main, we would beseech his particular attention to this writer’s account of the storming of the fort of Venloo. On a small scale it may stand by Hill’s surprise of Almaraz.

Germany." He must have Prussian troops as well as Dutch and English.

On the 9th of May, being at Gennep, he sends word to Prince Louis of Baden, who in Southern Germany commands the Imperial forces, to whose assistance he is marching, and with whom he will have to share the command, that he designs to march towards the Moselle, and even higher, to fall upon the Elector of Bavaria; but as he does by no means approve of certain unlucky "maxims" of Prince Louis, he intimates to him that he shall have to return with his army in July, and therefore what they do they must do quickly. On the 10th, being at Ruremond, he "will not conceal" from the English envoy at Vienna, his resolution of marching up to the Danube; but "as I have not yet made any declaration to the States of my design of going so far, and as it behoves us to have particular managements for them," the thing is to be a profound secret except from the Emperor and the Elector Palatine.

On the 11th of May, being at Maestricht, he "ventures to tell" St. John, then newly made Secretary of State, that besides going to the Moselle, "I design to march a great deal higher into Germany, though I would not have it public yet." Two days later, he lets out the secret to M. Bulow, commander of the Lunenberg forces, and begs him to have the goodness to hold his troops well in hand, "ready to join me at the first orders," but to keep the secret still from their High Mightinesses for the present. As he advances, the Hessians and Munsterians join him at Kerpen on the 19th. On the 20th, at the special instance of the Imperial Ministers and the Prince of Baden, he gives permission to the Prince of Hesse, Baron Hompesch, and M. de Bulow, to advance even further South, from Frankfort and Coblenz, to make a demonstration against the French, who threaten to penetrate the defiles of the Black Forest, but he strictly orders them to keep well together, and on the 8th to return and rendezvous at Philipsbourg. On the 21st, he finds himself in a condition to write to the States General for more troops—but not directly. To *them* he writes that he is approaching the Moselle as was agreed; that the French are beginning to threaten the avenues of the Black Forest, and that without a prompt reinforcement it will be difficult to prevent them crossing the Rhine and entering Germany;

that to meet this danger troops have advanced from Coblenz, "according to the orders agreed on with your High Mightinesses while I was at the Hague;" that for his part he is going *off* the Moselle towards Mayence, to be ready to move where help may be needed—since, unfortunately, *on* the Moselle the preparations are not as far advanced as might be desired; that (he is told) Marshal Villeroi has passed the Meuse and is following him southward, leaving Holland in perfect safety; and, on the whole, he begs them to reflect maturely on all this, and to give the necessary orders for the good of the common cause. To his friend, General Overkirk, he writes more distinctly that a reinforcement is absolutely necessary, and begs him to take care that no time may be lost in an affair which demands the utmost possible expedition.

On the 23rd, he reaches Bonn, and writes still more urgently to the Hague. The French have forced their way into Bavaria with 26,000 men; nothing but a prompt reinforcement can save the Circles and Princes of Germany and the Empire from being utterly overwhelmed; and Holland itself will quiver with the shock. On the 24th, he comes within a day's distance of Coblenz, and writes to hasten the march of the Lunenbourg and Hanoverian detachments which have not yet joined him. On the 25th, he reaches Coblenz; thence he writes once more to the Hague, vehemently urging them to strip their garrisons and push on fresh troops, otherwise he and the Empire will be engulfed; the Dutch regiment at Bonn and a Hessian regiment he orders up without permission; learns to his great joy that Dutch reinforcements are already on the way; makes known for the first time to his own troops whither they are bound; and then crossing the Rhine with the horse, and leaving the foot and artillery to follow as quickly as they can, behold him on the 27th of May in full march towards the Neckar, over the Swabian Alps, for the Danube and for Blenheim.

Mr. Wade compares this march and the victories that followed it, to the Italian campaign of 1796; but the resemblance seems to us very trivial. If a comparison must be made, we should rather select the campaign of Austerlitz. Historians tell us with wonder, how on the 1st of September, Napoleon broke up his camp on the heights of Boulogne; set in motion eight corps, under as many marshals, by various routes through France, Flan-

ders, and Northern Germany, to the Danube; swallowed up Mack at Ulm; then marched against the combined Austrian and Russian army at Austerlitz; overwhelmed them with the loss and slaughter of 30,000 men; and dictated peace to his prostrate enemies, after a campaign of *a hundred days*.

Napoleon's march was of his own troops, whom a nod from him sufficed to set in motion. That of Marlborough was the march of allies, tricked by degrees into carrying out a plan with the secret of which they were not entrusted; coming from various quarters with orders from different sovereigns; troops under three generals; the command divided on alternate days with Prince Louis of Baden, who had at last to be sent off (to Coventry) to besiege Ingoldstadt with a detachment of 20,000 men; and yet in the course of *a hundred days*, Marlborough, too, had drawn the confederate troops from the Meuse to the Danube; cut to pieces the flower of the Bavarian army on the Schellenberg; routed the allied French and Bavarian forces at Blenheim with the loss and slaughter of 40,000 men; emptied every garrison in the Electorate; dethroned the Elector; and made a peace by which in that part of Europe the war was finally extinguished. Let military critics determine the exact value of such an exploit; at least it cannot be said that to strike such a blow at his own risk, by his own personal management, and against the passive resistance of the powers he served, was like labouring to prolong the war.

Compelled, against his own judgment, to make this a war of strong places instead of a Napoleonic invasion, the Dutch deputies will not allow him to march lest it should bring on a fight; will not allow him to fight lest it should bring on a defeat; the English ministers and foreign troops grumble if he protracts the campaign into December;* Prince Eugene will not hear of his invading France; and if he spends six days in actively pursuing a beaten enemy, he has to apologize to his employers for "giving the troops so great a fatigue, especially after a battle."[†] Beset with such obstructions, with so little power over the movements of the army he commanded,

* Coxe, ii. pp. 304, 330, 338.

† Despatches, vol. ii. p. 538.

consider what he accomplished. Look narrowly at his ten years of baffled labours, in which gyved, manacled, and *weighted*, he, a mere subject struggling with factions at home, yet, giant-like, hurled Europe against France, pierced right through her least vulnerable frontier, smote her with repeated strokes, and never ceased to "lay on load" till her last ward was beaten down and she lay prostrate and powerless at his feet.

Military critics contrasting the system of war which prevailed under Louis XIV., and Frederic the Great, with that which the French Revolution inaugurated, and Napoleon carried to perfection, call the first "a war of positions," and the last "a war of vigour." By the "system of positions," says Jomini, is understood that old method of making a methodical war with armies encamped under canvass; living from their magazines and bakeries; watching each other—one to besiege a place, the other to cover it; one seeking to get possession of a little province, the other offering resistance by "positions" said to be impregnable—"a system which was generally followed from the middle age down to the French Revolution."* This system was in the very flower of its strength in Marlborough's age.

The last war in Flanders—that ten years' struggle which William III. ended by the peace of Ryswick—was a striking specimen of it. A French *mot* aptly described it and all the wars of Dutch William, as "small wars with great armies." In one campaign, 120,000 French troops having before them 50,000 enemies, whose destruction seemed inevitable, did nothing but march off, half to Germany and half to Italy. Another campaign is adequately described by our Memoir writer, Kane, in these words—"Both armies lay all this campaign looking at one another without one attempt;" then, "both parties broke up and went early to quarters."

Turenne, under whom Marlborough served his apprenticeship, described this system very accurately in the last year but one of his memorable career. Being asked by Condé to advise how he should carry on the war in Flanders, he replied—"Few sieges, many combats, as soon as you have made your army superior to that of the enemy

* Jomini, *Precis*, vol. i. p. 310.

by the number and goodness of your troops. When you are master of the open field, villages will be of as much use to you as fortified towns; *but now-a-days it is considered a point of honour rather to take a strong town than to conquer a Province.*"* Even Turenne, however, has been charged with this fault, by no less an authority than General Lloyd, who speaks of him and his renowned antagonist, Montecuculi, making "a whole war pass in skirmishes, without their ever coming to a general and conclusive result."† Marshall Saxe, who was present as a youngster before Lille and at Malplaquet, and who fills up the interval between Marlborough and Frederic, derides battles as "the resource of ignorant generals; when they don't know what to do, they give battle." Lloyd, who earned great distinction in the Seven Years' War, looks upon this retrogression of the art as almost unavoidable and due to the invention of fire-arms. When wars were fought out with hand-weapons, a battle was a decisive event; but now it is nothing more than a great skirmish; with generals of nearly equal abilities, wars are now concluded not by battles, "but for want of means to protract them."

The composition of armies was affected by this system, and influenced the system in its turn. Buonaparte, with an instructive exaggeration, has said, that wherever a man can plant his foot an army can follow. But this could hardly be said of the old armies; and that not so much from their tents, magazines, and bakeries, as from the composition of the armies themselves. Every one knows that in our times the strength of an army is in its infantry, and cavalry perform a subordinate function. In a general way, the modern proportion of horse is said to be a sixth part of the army, and in hilly countries a tenth; but in the eighteenth century it was much more. In 1812, Napoleon had in Spain about twenty-four thousand horse to a quarter of a million of foot. At Blenheim, Marlborough had the same number of horse to about thirty-three thousand foot. At Salamanca, the proportion on both sides was about forty thousand foot to five thousand horse; at Ramilies, about the same number

* Ramsay's Turenne, vol. ii., p. 257.

† Seven Years' War, vol. iii., p. 35.

of foot to twenty thousand horse. Instead of a sixth or a tenth, the proportion was a third or a fourth. Mr. Alison attributes this large proportion of cavalry to Marlborough's fondness for that particular arm; but he proves his assertion only by referring to the number of horse in the allied army. Now this proportion was common to all the armies of that day. The reliance on cavalry was no more characteristic of Marlborough than of Villeroi; it was a tradition handed down from feudal times; and if Marlborough's practice has anything peculiar on this point, it would seem that he relied on cavalry rather less than his contemporaries and predecessors.

The redundancy of this most costly military instrument was, of course, not without a motive, and that an obvious one. Folard, the well known writer on tactics, who was taken prisoner at Malplaquet, and whose literary career commenced at a later period, reproves this undue proportion, and maintains that an able general at the head of good infantry, needs very few horse. Lloyd takes a great deal of pains to confirm this opinion, and to prove that infantry may be trained to withstand cavalry; but in Marlborough's time this modern truism was either not discovered or not generally admitted. When an army was drawn up expecting an attack, the foot were generally entrenched, or thrown into villages, or placed behind the horse: if the entrenchments or villages were to be attacked, of course that service was performed by infantry, but whatever was to be done in the open field was done mainly and generally by the horse. "As the ground was open in certain places before our infantry," thus writes a Dutch general in 1703, "the workmen were ordered to make entrenchments, (*lever de la terre.*)"* At Blenheim, Marlborough states his reason for "drawing up the first line of foot in front of the horse,"† as being a thing unusual. At Oudenarde he accounts for the extraordinary slaughter, by saying that "our foot on both sides have been all engaged."‡

Now if, as Napoleon and all modern doctors of the art say, war is in all times and under all variations of detail,

* Despatches, vol. i. p. 98, note.

† Ibid p. 400.

‡ Coxe, ii. p. 265.

essentially the same ; if no really great soldier has ever carried on a mere defensive war ; if the system of "positions" is essentially inferior to the "war of vigour," one would like to have Marlborough's campaigns professionally examined, that we might know how far he rose above his age, and threw off, or tried to throw off, the trammels of the old method.

His battles and tactical operations were essentially offensive ; he always attacked ; always kept himself ready to attack ; and rarely hid his men behind trenches to destroy their moveability and damp their courage. When he did otherwise, it was by compulsion, as at Lille, where the French would not attack, the Dutch would not let him attack, and he therefore threw up entrenchments that he might get on with the siege as fast as possible, and without useless interruptions. From the Aide-Memoire, and even from Jomini, we learn that Blenheim and Ramilies are still *classic*, and present illustrations useful in this age of "vigour." Perhaps it will not be thought presumptuous if we venture to cull from them two illustrations which we have not seen noticed, and which present some interest even to the unlearned reader ; one having reference to the history of the art, the other to a modern controversy.

Frederic's great battle of Leuthen or Lissa, in 1757, has played a distinguished part in military literature. General Lloyd, "that profound and original writer," as Napier calls him, "*doué d'un coup d'œil vaste*," as Jomini asserts, was, by his writings published during the American war, the first to lay the foundation of a new school in the criticism of war. *Le premier*, says Jomini, *il montra la bonne route*. Through his commentary on the Seven Years' War, in which he was actively engaged, English literature occupies an honourable position in this department. From a minute consideration of the battle of Lissa, Lloyd deduced this fundamental rule : "That general, who, by the facility of his motions, or by artifice, can bring most men into action at the same time and at the same point, must, if the troops are equally good, necessarily prevail ; and therefore all evolutions which do not tend to this object, must be exploded."* Twenty years after this was published, Jomini, then a young man, medi-

* Lloyd's History of the War in Germany, vol. i. p. 139.

tated over the same field of operations. "Already," he says, "the narratives of Frederic the Great had begun to initiate me into the secret which had gained for him the miraculous victory of Lissa. I saw that this secret consisted in the very simple manœuvre of carrying the bulk of his forces against one wing of the hostile army, and Lloyd soon fortified me in this conviction. Afterwards I again found the same cause for the first successes of Napoleon in Italy, which gave me the idea, that *in applying, by strategy, to the whole field of operations, the same principle which Frederic had applied to battles, one would have the key of the entire science of war.* The art of war has existed from time immemorial, but I was the first who proclaimed the existence of general principles, and made the application of them to all the combinations of a theatre of war. Those who should deny this truth would not act with good faith."*

In this "miraculous victory of Lissa," the king's conduct, says Lloyd, was founded on the most "sublime" principles. Though his army was much inferior to the enemy, yet, by dint of superior manœuvres, he brought more men into action at the point attacked than they. The sublime manœuvre to which Lloyd thus refers, is explained by him in a sentence. "The king made great demonstrations against their right, by which they were deceived so long, that he, covered by the hills they had neglected to occupy, had time to bring his whole army on their left." This sentence, with a verbal alteration, is an exact description of the battle of Ramillies. The Duke made great demonstrations against the French left, which was protected by a morass, and thus inaccessible; to meet the supposed danger, Villeroy weakened his centre to reinforce the left, and in the meantime Marlborough, under cover of a rising ground, carried a great part of his own right wing against the weakened centre of the French, and broke their line by superior numbers at that point. General Kane describes this manœuvre most fully, and the French

* *Precis*, vol. 1. pp. 16, 23, 24. If we may believe an English writer, who certainly is not prejudiced in his favour, Jomini, besides being, as he pretends, the *first* of the new school, is even now in many respects the *foremost*. Colonel Hamilton Smith, (*Aide Memoir*, vol. 1. p. 1.) describes his *Precis de l'art de la guerre*, as "a work which may still be regarded as the best on the science."

military historian, anxious for the credit of the *Maison du Roi*, whose rout at the centre determined the fortune of the day, explains that they were overpowered by superior numbers: "six to one," he says. "The Duke of Marlborough, whose principal object in this action was to destroy that corps, (the household troops,) being persuaded that the fate of the battle depended on it, had said before the action, that to succeed in doing this, he would oppose six men to one, which he did."* In thus exalting, and perhaps exaggerating, the heroic courage of the French soldier, M. de Quincey, unconsciously, it would seem, has paid the highest tribute to the English general. The numbers in each army were about equal; the French had their choice of ground, and, that he manœuvred so as to be able to bring against the important point of their line a majority of six to one, is the highest possible proof of Marlborough's tactical skill. If Lissa is a "sublime" military lesson deserving of study, Ramilies would seem to be entitled to the same praise and the same attention.

In the battle of Blenheim also there is a point which we do not remember to have seen noticed. Napoleon's criticism on the English position at Waterloo is well known. It was deficient, he said, in one of the main points to which a good general pays attention. The English army, with a wood in its rear, had no possibility of retreat if it was defeated. Upon the value of such a criticism it is not for us to judge. English writers are of one accord in rejecting it—Colonel Siborne, Colonel Smith, in the "*Aide Memoire*," Mr. Gleig, &c., &c. But when Napoleon, "a warm admirer of that great man," Marlborough, expresses his surprise at the studied neglect with which "*the hero of Blenheim*" had been hitherto treated by the French historians,"† it is rather curious to remember that Marlborough and Eugene placed themselves at Blenheim with a wood in their rear, and that this very wood saved the day. Prince Eugene's cavalry being no match for the Bavarians, were three times driven back, and "recoiled, but only to the wood where they drew up again in order as before." When the cavalry gave way, the infantry on their left were assailed by the Bavarians in

* De Quincey, vol. 5, p. 7.

† Editor's Note, Coxe, i. p. viii.

flank, and "were obliged at length to fall back also to the wood, and to change their front." Being re-formed in, or on, the wood, Prince Eugene led his troops a fourth time to the charge, which was successful. It would seem that but for the very position which Napoleon condemned as faulty at Waterloo, the right wing under Eugene would have been turned, defeated, and the issue of the conflict very different.

"Can any one believe that Eugene and Marlborough triumphed only by inspiration or by the moral superiority of their battalions? On the contrary, are there not to be seen in the victories of Turin, Hochstett (Blenheim) and Ramilies, manœuvres like those of Talavera, Waterloo, Jena, or Austerlitz, and which were the causes of victory?"* We suppose we may take for granted a general agreement, that in the art of battles, Marlborough was not a mere routine practitioner of the "war of position" used in his day by the greatest soldiers. Malplaquet may bear witness that no "position" was too strong for him to attack. Schellenberg, where he snatched a victory on his alternate day of command, by marching from before sunrise, and—two hours before sunset, while a third of his army was on the way—attacking the enemy in their unfinished entrenchments, proves that he had shaken himself free from the old slow system of *not* attacking until the hostile armies have "been several days *in presence*."† Ramilies, where, by a skilful manœuvre *extempore*, he brought "six to one," or some other overwhelming proportion against *La maison du Roi*, demonstrates his perfect comprehension of the fundamental principle of tactics—that of "bringing the greatest mass of forces to bear at the same time upon the decisive point" *of the field of battle*.

A more difficult subject remains; was he equally great in strategies as in tactics? In wars and campaigns as in battles and minor operations? Did he understand that other fundamental principle, of "bringing the bulk of his forces successively upon the decisive points of *the theatre of war*, if possible on the enemies' lines of communication, and in such a manner as to bring his masses against

* Jomini, *Precis*, vol. ii. p. 289.

† *Precis*, vol. ii. p. 162.

fractions of the hostile force?"* Frederic, according to Napoleon, a supereminent tactician, was, if we may believe Jomini, utterly worthless in strategies; and can the same be true of Marlborough? However, what even a civilian can see is, that a true estimate of Marlborough's genius would require a careful examination of something more than his military operations; nothing less, indeed, than an exact study of all the monuments of the history of that time, in order to discover not merely what he did, but what he would have done, and what he was prevented doing. Even in the Blenheim campaign, there should be taken into account such surprising ingredients as the command on alternate days, and the habitual drag, even where no difference of opinion shews itself, of such a colleague as Prince Louis of Baden; such censors and councillors at the Dutch; such masters as Godolphin, a British ministry and a British public. Buonaparte himself would, perhaps, have hardly thought it worth while so much as to propose "the movement of Arcola" to a council of German formalists.

Then look at the grand feature of the war; what was then called "taking the bull by the horns;" fixing down the operations among the wilderness of Flemish fortresses; piercing the strongest part of the French frontier instead of striking through a more vulnerable point. When the Tories wished to ruin the Duke's reputation, they charged him, (*Examiner*, No. 27) under the name of Crassus, with "confining his conquests within the fruitful country of Mesopotamia, where plenty of money might be raised." The "Cabinet" biographer, though full of admiration for his hero, takes the like exception, but adduces it as a proof that he was wanting in strategic originality. Perhaps a little closer inspection may prove that the same answer can be given to both charges; but let us first hear what this later writer has to allege.

"As a general, Marlborough is not to be numbered with the few, such as Maurice of Nassau, Gustavus Adolphus, or Frederic of Prussia, whose genius has stamped its impress upon the warfare of their times, and made a distinct epoch in military history. He left the art which he practised with unrivalled ability in the same state in which he found it; nor is there a single change or

* *Precis*, vol. i. p. 158.

improvement in strategy attributed to his master mind. But if this absence of inventive power may seem to detract from his claim to the very highest order of military merit, it must not the less be remembered, that he was beyond comparison the most accomplished commander of his warlike age. It was an age of formal tactics and deliberate sieges, which had produced Vauban and Cohorn, raised the art of fortifying to an apparent perfection, and exaggerated the importance of regular fortresses and long lines of entrenchment.....Marlborough in his own practice adhered to the same rules of defence of which his success might have shown him the futility. Once indeed after the victory at Oudenarde, he broke through the pedantry of rules, and proposed to Eugene by masking Lille and Tournay with a corps of observation, to penetrate into the interior of France and strike at the heart; a plan which, instead of consuming the remainder of a victorious campaign in the seige of two fortresses, might have triumphantly ended the war under the walls of Paris. But the bold proposal seemed too hazardous even to Eugene."

How widely this differs from Jomini's estimate of one, at least, of the three generals thus preferred to Marlborough, the reader is in a condition to understand. We suppose it must be admitted that Marlborough did not, like Gustavus or Frederic, either invent or pretend to invent any new system of evolutions or equipments, and that he was not very lavish of any kind of innovations. The method, for instance, invented by the Swede of mixing foot with horse, a method borrowed by the French to their discomfiture at Blenheim and Ramilies, as it was by Frederic to his discomfiture at Molwitz,* was by no means in favour with Marlborough, if we may believe general Kane.† The same writer also commemorates, that Marlborough would have his cavalry come to close quarters, and trust only to the sword: he "would allow the horse but three charges of powder and ball to each man for a campaign, and that only for guarding their horses when at grass, and not to be made use of on action."‡ But beyond a significant notice like this, we certainly do not find any special invention in the way of dress, arms, or evolutions, attributed to him. Indeed, his very position forbade innovations. Frederic, Gustavus—aye, and Maurice of Nassau—were sovereigns, and might

* Jomini, *Hist. des guerres de Fred.* 2nd., vol. i. pp. 9—11.

† pp. 67, 69.

‡ p. 110.

innovate as they pleased. Marlborough was a subject; at the head of an allied force; plagued out of his life if he protracted a campaign into December; and, in short, compelled to take these matters pretty much as he found them, and make the best use he could of existing materials and methods. To have proposed to the famous Dutch engineer Cöhorn, or to his successors in art and obstinacy, new methods of besieging towns; or to Slanzenberg and his comrades new methods of arming troops, or new proportions of foot and horse, or any such improvement; would have been merely to excite fresh opposition, and to add still more complications to those by which he was already surrounded.

But his strategical capacity admits surely of a more direct vindication. If, as the biographer admits, the Blenheim campaign "must ever be numbered among the most perfect efforts of military science," how can it be true that his strategies were deficient in originality? That Marlborough only once broke through the pedantry of rules, namely, in 1708, when he proposed to leave Vauban's strong places behind him, and to strike at the heart of France, is hardly consistent with this eulogy on the Blenheim campaign. If our biographer had bethought him of the close of that very campaign and the commencement of the next, we think he would scarcely have hazarded a remark so unjust to the duke's real merit. The sieges on the Moselle, which concluded the year 1704, Landau and Trèves—(like Wellington's sieges of Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajos before the Salamanca campaign)—were meant to be preliminary to a grand effort "to penetrate into the interior of France, and strike at the heart;" and the very next year (1705) might have ended the war "under the walls of Paris," if German tardiness, princely jealousy, and Dutch "circumspection," had not kept him too weak for any such attempt, and driven him back to the Meuse to waste the whole year in taking a town or two, and passing the French lines. But though this great scheme was not executed, it was conceived and commenced; and, what is more, we shall see hereafter that Marlborough proposed, not merely to turn Vauban's Flemish frontier by striking at "the heart," on the side of the Moselle, but—a thing unexampled then—was prepared to do so in spite of the deficiency of his magazines, and relying mainly for the success of his operations on the

supplies to be drawn in the heart of France from the enemy's fields, villages, and towns. Nor did the next year's success in Brabant at all blind him to the superior advantages of this scheme of operations. In the very height of his exultation after Ramilies, which he thinks a triumph "greater than that of Blenheim," accomplishing "more than was done in the last ten years' war in this country," big with results "greater than are to be met with in modern history;" when the enemy flying before him with terror, to his infinite amazement, abandon "a whole country with so many strong places without the least resistance;" even then he looks back with regret to the unfinished Moselle campaign, and writes to the Prince of Salm, "that a smaller advantage on the Moselle or Saar would have bought us *au beau milieu de la France*; while on this side, after all, we are hemmed in by the enemies' garrisons and strong places."* Surely the distinct evidence of four years, (1704, 5, 6, 8,) that maintaining the war in the Netherlands, was against his strongest convictions; the fact, (if it be one), that in 1708, his plans were too bold even for the approval of Prince Eugene; and the other fact, (which is certain), that every offensive movement he made, and every success he gained, except Ramilies, had to be wrested from a Dutch council of war; all this should make a critic pause before he decides that Marlborough never broke through the pedantry of rules, except on one occasion. The truth seems rather to be, that his mind was never subjected to the influence of that pedantry at all; but that it was the element in which he was obliged to fight; that he used it in the persons of his Dutch and German colleagues, as the only weapon the Upper Powers allowed him: and his fame is, not merely that, at the head of a numerous and valiant army, he gained great battles, took strong towns, and humbled the greatest military power on the continent; but that through ten years he compelled a numerous corporation of jealous and jangling pedants to do this in their own despite; to do what, to have accomplished without their hindrance, would have been a great and glorious achievement; that he dragged German pedants and Dutch councils of war sheer through Vauban's bastions

* Despatches, vol. ii. p. 588.

and the entrenchments of Villars, by regular advances from Nimeguen to Picardy.

We have spoken of Marlborough's willingness in 1705 to carry his forces into the heart of France, relying not on his magazines, but on the resources of the country he was about to invade. It is singular that one of the facts adduced by Jomini to prove Frederic's great want of strategical genius, turns on this very point, and, as this also connects itself with a question which is of considerable moral as well as military interest in the present day, we shall make no apology for entering into it with some minuteness. Jomini blames Frederic for being deterred from invading Bohemia by trivial calculations about bread waggons, bakeries, and great magazines. It is a proof, he says, that in the eighteenth century the art of war had retrograded.* In that age such calculations counted "for everything, and military plans were a subordinate affair. But a genius like Frederic ought to have known that 90,000 men pushed on in a rapid offensive movement can easily live in a rich and fertile country containing five or six millions of inhabitants. It is nothing but fourteen or fifteen decisive marches in advance, and the magazines can be filled afterwards."

A paragraph in another work of the same writer is even more to our present purpose :

"Under Louis XIV. and Frederic, the most numerous armies fighting on their own frontiers, lived regularly from the magazines and bakeries that followed them ; which much cramped their operations, by not allowing them to remove from their dépôts further than a space proportioned to their means of transport, the quantity of rations they could carry, and the number of days it took their carriages to go and return from the dépôts to the camp. In the revolution, necessity caused magazines to be despised. Numerous armies invading Belgium and Germany without a commissariat, lived sometimes on the inhabitants, sometimes by requisitions imposed on the country, and even as marauders and by pillage.....This system gave great advantages to Napoleon ; but he abused it by carrying it to an extravagant extent, and into countries where it was impracticable."†

Putting excess out of the question Jomini stoutly con-

* *Histoire*, &c., vol. i. p. 87.

† *Precis*, vol. i. p. 326.

tends that the true course for a general is to turn to account all the resources of the invaded country, by means of "uniform and legal requisitions" distributing the troops as much as possible in towns and villages, and paying the inhabitants for any surcharge to which they may have been exposed.

Jomini, whose feats of arms have been shared with much impartiality between East and West, despotism and liberty, legitimacy and revolution, speaks we suppose the current doctrine of the continent, but does not trouble himself much about the ethics of the question. In England, however, so high minded are we, the ethical considerations stand first, and strategical genius makes quite a secondary figure. Indeed, it somewhat shocks even the present Reviewer, to hear an Aide-de-Camp of the most legitimate monarch in Europe, sanctioning a practice which we had always been taught to believe was a mere invention of the devil, speaking through the mouths of French Jacobins, and the Corsican Usurper. As a *fact*, indeed, even Jomini seems to assign this earthly origin to the practice in question, or at least its revival in modern times; but as a *morality* he regards it as a beneficent invention of the Upper Powers. The "legitimate" practice of Louis 14th's reign, he treats with great contempt; it was the system of living by magazines and bakeries prepared beforehand, and sparing the inhabitants, while the true system is to spare the magazines and live on the inhabitants. He seems indeed somewhat puzzled to find decent historical precedents within the last two thousand years. Cæsar, with whom originated the phrase of "war maintaining war," could not of course be passed over; but besides Cæsar, the main authorities seem to be Gustavus Adolphus and his Swedish successors, and along with them "the Cimbri, the Huns, the Franks and the Moors."

In England, the authority of these clouds of casuists is naturally not quite so high as at St. Petersburg. With us the holy army of Huns has been quite put out of court; and with great disinterestedness and a marvellous union almost approaching unanimity, the government, the army and the people have decided, that were their posterity to pay taxes for it to doomsday, war shall never be allowed to maintain a *British* war. We have not, it is true, as yet ventured to deny the *doctrine* that the conqueror in a just—that is in a British—war has a right to exact costs from the defeated

litigant; and the Chinese silver so recently paraded through London, in "five waggons and a cart," escorted by horse guards, duly deposited in the mint, and yearly accounted for without shame by successive Chancellors of the Exchequer, makes manifest our latest practice. But exacting from a conquered nation contributions of this kind large enough to pay the conqueror's expenses is making "war support war." This therefore is not what the English sentiment condemns. What is meant is rather a question of time and mode. At the close of hostilities, through the forms of a regular treaty entered into with the hostile and sovereign ruler, you may make "war support war." But during the continuance of war, in the midst of a campaign, by the agency of your own officers or constrained local authorities, to support your troops or replenish the military chest, this, it seems, is not allowable; this England condemns with her whole soul; this is French, jacobinical, revolutionary, Corsican, wicked, an invention practised by none but fiends in the human form: and the opinion that it is right to do so is "a theory which involves a terrific outrage on moral principle."*

Napier (vol. v. p. 365,) thus describes the English practice, though without approving it.

"The Portuguese in their own country, and the Spaniards everywhere lived as the French did, by requisition. But the British professed to avoid that mode of subsistence, and they made it a national boast to all Europe that they did so. The movements of the army were therefore always subservient to this principle, because want of money was with them want of motion."

The French, on the other hand, says the same writer, "Kept magazines in reserve for sudden expeditions, feeding meanwhile as they could upon the country; and therefore their distress for provisions never obstructed their moving upon important occasions."

In the Waterloo campaign, the Duke indeed condescended to follow the way of requisitions; but treating France as a friendly country, he directed "that nothing should be taken for which payment be not made." Blucher, on the contrary, treating France as conquered and hostile, "imposed severe exactions along the whole

* Maxwell's *Victories*, Bohn's Edition, p. 495.

line of march,"* and his intention to levy a contribution of one hundred millions of francs from the city of Paris, with the Duke's successful resistance, are facts well known. At Paris the Duke brought out in very sharp relief the contrast between French and English habits. The sous-prefet of Pontoise having received a requisition for eatables refused to comply unless it was backed by a military force strong enough to *exact* it. The Duke gratified his wishes, and coolly observing that the sous-prefet had put himself on a war footing, made him a prisoner of war as an act of special mercy, and shipped him off to England. To show the full extent of the obligation, he mildly added—"if I were to treat you, as the Usurper and his adherents have treated the inhabitants of the countries in which they have made war, I should have you shot."† The English practice then is pretty obvious:—to subsist primarily on magazines, and either to make no requisitions, or if these be necessary, to pay in hard cash for whatever is taken.

In India, it is true, the Duke was of a somewhat different opinion; but it was not there a question of French and English, but English and Hindoos—and a difference of race and colour alters the whole foundation of a great deal of British morality. In the Assaye campaign of 1803, Sir Arthur Wellesley, finding the expenses of his army vastly increased, especially "by the increased distance of our operations from the sources of supply," knowing that "the moment at which I should cease to pay the troops regularly would be the commencement of disasters," and thinking that to levy a contribution on the town of Burhampoor "was a likely mode of distressing the enemy," did in fact levy a contribution "though not in immediate want of money."‡ The immaculate purity of the Indian government took alarm at this proceeding, and showed its suspicions by writing to Sir Arthur for information. Sir Arthur at once and most frankly confessed and justified. He declared "that to levy a contribution was common in India and in Europe;" that on two previous occasions he should have done so "if the Rajah of Berar had not made peace;" that he thought he had done right; and that "it

* Siborne, vol. ii. p. 316, 343.

† Gurwood's Despatches, 13th July, 1815.

‡ Gurwood's 'Collection;' Letter to Major Shawe, 13th Jan. 1804.

would have been much more disgraceful to have lost the campaign from the want of money, than to have insured in this manner the means of gaining it."

But whatever the practice of India, and whatever Sir Arthur may have known in Europe, it seems agreed on all sides that in ante-revolutionary periods, and in regular wars under legitimate monarchs, and especially under Louis XIV., the custom was to live from magazines and bakeries; not to make war where these could not be relied on; and above all to spare the inhabitants. The genuine anti-gallican, indeed, introduces a slight discord into this general agreement. According to him, even under legitimate kings, and in the wars of which we are treating, France was always France, and Louis XIV. but another form of Napoleon. The armies of Louis XIV., quoth Sir George Murray,* were an exception to the rule of their times, and "adopted the same system of devastating warfare, by the burning of towns and villages, and the massacre of their inhabitants, which has in more recent times characterized the policy of Napoleon, and the conduct of his troops throughout Spain and Portugal."

It is strange that this contrast between the *ante* and the *post* revolutionary periods should be thus gravely assumed and quietly admitted, when the contrary is so very undeniable. Now we may concede to Jomini that the earlier methods were much slower, more cumbrous, confined and timid than the later; and that the bankrupt, shoeless, sans-culotte armies of the revolution applied the principle of Requisition and Contribution with unprecedented audacity and vigour; but in the principle itself there was no novelty whatever. Under Louis XIV., as well as under Napoleon, it was the custom for invading armies to impose requisitions, to plunder, ravage, burn, and fill their dépôts with stores taken by force; and with Sir George Murray's leave this was not confined to the French armies, but was done by all nations, and by the English on as great a scale as by their neighbours. The modern practice, of which the British make a national boast before Europe, is peculiar to themselves, and has no foundation in earlier practice. "Napoleon's system," is neither Napoleon's, nor revolutionary, nor French; but (abuses apart) is the traditional

* Note to Marlborough's Despatches, vol. ii. p. 567.

common law of the civilized world long before the revolution was dreamt of.

These assertions will probably sound strange to many of our readers. In a recent number of a contemporary periodical, a Reviewer* quoted with amazement, as a specimen of the "atrocious examples of extortion" set by "the French Marshals during the wars of Napoleon," the Duke of Treviso's "bill of fare for August 4th, 1807," exacted by requisition from the Spanish peasants. His readers no doubt were amazed at the profusion of calves' heads and livers, fowls, ducks, pigeons, woodcocks, eggs, butter, vegetables, fruits, sweetmeats, wines and strong drink, disclosed in that formidable document; nay, our brother Reviewer himself could find no parallel to such leech-like doings without going back to the horrid days of the Thirty Years' War. Strange is it, but true, however, that the general continental practice before the Revolution was the very same as that at which we now shudder; and we can cite from the lips of one of our English heroes, during one of the most peaceable periods of European history—that of Sir Robert Walpole and Cardinal Fleury,—a statement of the German practice in Italy, which fits the Duke of Treviso to a hair. The speaker is the Military Macadam of the Highlands, the well-known Marshal Wade, and his evidence was given publicly in the House of Commons in the year 1732.

The occasion was one of the annual debates on a standing army. Mr. Pulteney complained of the expense of maintaining English soldiers, and declared that "the same money that we raise for maintaining 18,000 men would maintain 60,000 men of regular forces in France, Germany, or any other country in Europe, according to their ways of regulating their armies." This called up General Wade, who explained what from ocular evidence he knew of "their ways of regulating" the German armies quartered in Italy.

"Those who are acquainted with the method of maintaining a German army, will not envy them the happiness of maintaining their troops at so cheap a rate as they do. It is well known, that what they come short of ours in pay, they do more than make up by plundering, oppressing, and raising contributions upon the

* Westminster Review for April, 1848, page 233.

countries where they are quartered. When I was in Italy, I had the honour to be invited to dine with one of the German generals who commanded in that country. When I came to the palace where he had his quarters, I found the hall and the avenues leading thereto full of country people; some with wine, some with beer, some with bread, some with fowls, some with figs, and God knows how many other things. I could not imagine what all this meant: but when we came to sit down at table, I found such variety of dishes, such variety of wines, so magnificent attendance, and so sumptuous an entertainment every manner of way—which, at the same time, I was told to be the General's ordinary way of living—that I was very much surprised; and after dinner, over a glass of wine, I took the liberty to ask the General, 'For God's sake, Sir, how are you able to live after this rate? for it would break any of our English generals to live in so splendid a manner; our pay could not support it.' 'Pay, Sir,' says he, 'why I have none on this account from the Government; all this comes from the country where I am quartered, which they are obliged to furnish me with for nothing. I have, Sir, seven miles of the country round allotted to me for supporting my table.' Then I guessed at the meaning of all those country people's being in and about the hall. I found they were all come with their peace-offerings to the General. At this rate a German officer does not stand in need of much pay from the government; but I hope the kingdom of England will never be served at such a rate."

This is a specimen, and no doubt a very fair specimen, of the continental practice in the most peaceable times of modern Europe before the Revolution. It is not the custom of any one nation; but the usage of the continent as opposed to that of England. Let us now see what was the general custom of war as explained in books of authority, and sanctioned even by English example.

In Vattel's '*Law of Nations*,' the practice of Louis the Fourteenth's reign is described with tolerable minuteness.

"A nation," says Vattel, (book iii. c. 9.) "on every opportunity lays its hands on the enemy's goods, and thereby, besides weakening the adversary, strengthens itself, and procures an indemnification either for the cause of the war, or for the expenses resulting from it. A nation thus does itself justice.....Instead of pillage a more humane custom has been substituted, that of *Contributions*. The subjects of the enemy, on submitting to this imposition, are secured from pillage. But a general who would not sully his character, is to proportion his 'contributions' to the means of those on whom they are imposed. In the reign of Louis XIV. the sovereigns used, on the commencement of the war, to enter into trea-

ties for regulating the contributions on a supportable footing. The extent of the country, the amount, and the manner in which the parties levying them were to behave, were settled."

This milder practice is recorded as peculiar to the reign of Louis XIV., as a special instance of humanity, and is followed by the exclamation, "Why has not so noble and wise an example become an established rule?" Vattel saw no such rule in force in the *middle* of the eighteenth century, when his work was written: but, without recurring to Gustavus or the Huns, nothing is easier than to show that, while he has very correctly stated the practice of Contributions, he has very considerably over-rated the humanity of the rule used under Louis XIV. The Marlborough Despatches and Coxe's Life furnish the most unexceptionable English evidence as to the English, Dutch, and French practice during the last years of that memorable reign.

Marlborough's campaigns commenced in the summer of 1702, when the French occupied the southern part of Holland; and one of his earliest letters describes in a few words the French practice of that time. Speaking of a projected march, he says that he expects thereby "to draw back the enemy from the Dutch frontier, *and force them to live at their own expense.*"* The French then, it is clear, were living in Holland *not* at their own expense, but at that of the Dutch. These few words will satisfy any Englishman of the French practice.

The Dutch practice is not less conclusively established from the letters of 1703, and with a little more detail. M. Cöhorn's design, says Marlborough, is "not on Ostend as I desired, but to force their lines, *by which he will settle a good deal of contributions*, which these people like but too well.....It is no wonder that Cöhorn is for forcing the lines, for, as he is governor of West Flanders, he has the tenths of all the contributions."† "I am afraid," he adds a few weeks later, "the lucre of having a little contribution from the Pais de Waes, has spoiled the whole design."‡ The greedy Dutch cormorants! we hear the reader exclaim; but let us come to the English.

The next year (1704) was the march from Holland

* *Despatches*, 4th August, 1702.—vol. i. p. 16.

† Coxe, i. p. 119. ‡ *Ibid*, p. 122.

through the friendly German States into the hostile country of Bavaria. At the beginning of the campaign we hear of nothing but magazines. "Our first care must be to have stores of forage and bread, without which we cannot stir." Having commenced his march, Marlborough is overdone with baggage. "Our force is not large, but we have a great train of carriages for bread, as well as for artillery and pontoons."* Three days later he beseeches the Elector of Mayence to supply forage, and then "the troops shall not stir from the camp, to spare the country as much as possible."† Three days later he issues a sort of circular to sundry German Princes, entreating them to collect victuals for the soldiers, "*moyennant un prompt paiement.*"‡ As he approaches Bavaria, he begins to establish his magazines on and near the Danube, and begs the princes to help him, "*tant pour l'achat des grains que pour le charriage à un prix raisonnable.*"§ In the course of time he has depôts at Nordlingen, Heidenheim, Donawert, Nieubourg, Aicha, Schrobenhausen, and Rain; and he talks of "subsisting the army out of Franconia, while we continue in Bavaria."|| All this the reader innocently imagines to be a humane precaution for "sparing the country," even the hostile country of Bavaria; drawing supplies from the rear, instead of "feeding" on the invaded people.

On the 10th of July Marlborough crossed the Lech, then the boundary of Bavaria, and commenced the siege of Rain. On the 13th he thus writes to the English envoy at Vienna: "We shall open the trenches this night, and I hope soon make ourselves masters of the place; and then, if the Elector does not submit to reasonable terms, shall advance, *and destroy the whole country.*"¶ Mr. Alison, who is strong on the subject of French devastation, treats this infliction of suffering on the guiltless Bavarians as a retribution for the plunder of the Palatinate by the guilty French. Mr. Coxe, like a true biographer, sets the matter in the fairest light for his hero, and seems to write under the impression that the Elector had been guilty of

* Despatches, vol. i. p. 265.

† Ibid, p. 273.

‡ Ibid, p. 282.

§ Ibid, p. 311.

|| Ibid, p. 348.

¶ Ibid, p. 354.

some special "offences," which rendered a severe chastisement necessary. But it was no such thing; the war was an ordinary one; the threat of devastation was the English commander's *first* word.

On the 15th of July he thus writes to Brigadier Baldwin: "I beg and command you to get together all the cattle you can, and to let none cross the Danube under any pretext whatever, but to keep them for the subsistence of the army. You must also get together all the horses and carts you can find for the service of our troops, and to convey all the corn you can to Nieubourg for storing in our magazines.....If any distinction is pointed out to you between the corn that belongs to the inhabitants of Nieubourg and that which belongs to the Elector's subjects, you will give orders to forage these last, and to let the others reap their harvest."* The same day Rain surrenders, and, cheered by this success, Marlborough writes to Mr. Secretary Hodges: "We are now going to burn and destroy the Elector's country, to oblige him to hearken to terms." The reader will at once see, that Vattel's statement about Treaties for Contributions is much too general. At all events, there was no such treaty in this case, and a fixed resolution to make none.

After "burning and destroying" for a time, the Elector seems to melt a little. His best troops have been cut to pieces at Schellenberg; he cannot keep the field against a superior force; the French under Marshal Tallard are as yet only a "great perhaps;" and, on the whole, it may be the most prudent course to treat and save the country for the present. Marlborough thus announces the change to the Elector of Hanover (July 23rd): "We have still pushed on, having attacked and taken the town of Rain, and even burnt and destroyed a part of the country. This has ceased some days past, but we are always in a condition to begin again whenever we please."† The magistrates of Schrobenhausen having—like the Sous-Prefet de Pontoise—been summoned to obey and enforce "requisitions," Marlborough shows himself disposed to act very much like "the Usurper and his adherents." He says, "You have refused to obey the orders of the Prince of Baden and mine. These orders are repeated this morning; and

* Ibid, p. 356.

† Ibid, p. 366.

I flatter myself you will at once obey, for I should be very sorry to come to extremities with you. The orders of the soldiers are to collect all the corn to be found in the neighbouring villages, and to bring it into the town to make bread for the troops, without paying attention to any safeguard.”*

In the meantime M. Tallard advances, the Elector’s hopes rise, and negotiations are broken off. On the 27th of July Marlborough writes: “The war is once more being carried on at the expense of Bavaria, which, to all appearance will be almost entirely ruined.”† On the 29th: “I have not been wanting on my part, and am sorry he has at last obliged us to extremities, the Comte de la Tour being gone out this morning with a strong detachment of horse and dragoons to destroy and burn the country about Munich, as I fear we shall be forced to do in other parts, to deprive the enemy as well of present subsistence as future support on this side.”‡ On the 31st he “prays” De La Tour “to continue to burn all he can.” On the 1st of August, Count d’Ooste Frise is told, “as it is impossible for us to send and fetch the corn that is at Pruck and the environs, I wish that whatever remains there, *as well as all the buildings*, may undergo the same fate,” (i. e., be burned,) “in order that the enemy may make no use of them.”§ On the 3rd Mr. Secretary Harley is informed, that Count de la Tour and the Duke of Wirtemberg “are both returned this evening, having burnt a great number of villages between this and Munich.”|| Nor, while this burning is going on, is Marlborough unmindful of contributions, without the formality of a treaty. On the 31st of July he writes to Lieutenant-General Scholten: “I am trying to have attached to each battalion four waggons to get bread for them, and I should be glad if you could get your own supplies in the same manner on your march.”¶

The sum total of this devastation of Bavaria is thus stated by Marlborough’s earliest biographer, acquaintance,

* Ibid, p. 371-2.

+ Ibid, p. 374.

† Ibid, pp. 378-9.

§ Ibid, p. 383.

|| Ibid, p. 384.

¶ Ibid, p. 378.

and panegyrist: "Those generals put their commission in execution with the utmost severity, bringing away everything that came within their reach which was worth taking, and burning or ruining the rest; and in this manner were destroyed upwards of three hundred towns, villages, and castles." This was done, "hoping that either a generous compassion for his distressed subjects, or the want of subsistence, would at length conquer the Elector's obstinacy."* The end, however, seems not to have been attained. The Elector was an "eyewitness of the calamity of his country, which irritated him to revenge more than mollified him to compassion; wherefore, on his joining Tallard, he resolved to vent his fury on the country of Wirtemberg."† Marlborough, also, was an eyewitness and was "mollified" by what he saw, but not to any practical compassion. "We sent this morning 3000 horse to his chief city of Munich, with orders to burn and destroy all the country about it. This is so contrary to my nature, that nothing but absolute necessity could have obliged me to consent to it, for these poor people suffer for their master's ambition. There having been no war in this country for above sixty years, these towns and villages are so clean that you would be pleased with them." "You will, I hope, believe me that my nature suffers when I see so many fine places burnt, and that must be burnt, if the Elector will not hinder it."‡ At length came the great rout at Blenheim; the tide of war rolled back from Bavaria to France and Flanders; the Elector *took* leave of his unhappy subjects, and they, in their turn, *got* leave to live.

The end of the year finds Marlborough on the borders of France, winding up the campaign with taking Trèves, which he hopes will be useful, not merely as a place of arms, but as a grand centre of forage and contributions. Before getting hold of it he wrote to Godolphin: § "Another thing which gives me great trouble is, that I can get no meal to make bread but what I brought with me; but if I can make myself master of Trèves, I shall then want for nothing." The design for the next campaign is to avoid

* Lediard, vol. i. p. 350.

† Kaue's Memoirs, p. 47.

‡ Coxe, i. p. 183.

§ 26th Oct. 1704; Coxe, i. p. 228.

Flanders, and to carry the war at once into France across its weaker frontier on the Moselle. In projecting this invasion it is evident that, from the beginning, Marlborough did not rely wholly on his magazines, but resolved to march boldly into the enemy's country, to find supplies and get rid of his "trouble" there.

In due time Trèves was taken, and the campaign drawn to an end; the "great Duke" hastens off to Berlin, and leaves to trusty officers the completion of some small matters which are to facilitate the operations of the next campaign. From Heidelberg he travels on the 13th of November "near three score miles" over German roads, and as he jolts along, couriers bring him letters from the Moselle. To strengthen the fortifications of Trèves, with an eye to future "contributions," he had collected 6,000 of the peasantry and set them to work, believing this to be of the last importance; but these letters tell him that a German and Dutch council of war has thought fit, "after all the pains he has taken," to pronounce that Trèves is not worth keeping; that his scheme of invasion is too dangerous; that forage cannot be had; that workmen are not forthcoming; in a word, that Trèves had better be given up. After nightfall he reaches Frankfort "very weary," but his first care is to answer these letters and others from England which await his arrival. He is chagrined beyond measure at the talk of abandoning Trèves, and is half inclined to hasten back to the Moselle to inspire a better resolution. Abandon Trèves! Why, "if you quit that post you must give up all thought of contributions."* You cannot hope to live upon the enemy's country in the next campaign. The talk about "workmen and forage," he wholly disbelieves. Unquestionably they are to be had if you will only take the proper means. And what *were* the proper English means in the unexceptionable days of good Queen Anne? Why the very means which have been since discovered to be a wicked invention of "the Usurper and his adherents." "As to the workmen and forage, I cannot but think *if you had executed any of the villages on the other side*, the workmen would have come into you; and *a few houses burnt*, would no doubt have supplied you with a good store of forage, and *I am of opinion it may not be too late still.*"†

* Despatches, vol. i. p. 542.

† Ibid, p. 540.

But not only so; the allies, amongst themselves had sold the lion's skin while the beast lived; and such was the regular custom, German, Dutch, English, and, no doubt, French. In 1703, after a small Netherlandish exploit, Baron de Spaar wrote to the States General that he "has promised every grenadier a pistole, and half a pistole to every pioneer; and, under the good pleasure of your High Mightinesses, I shall stop it out of the first money that shall come to me from the contributions of the Pays de Wæs:"*—those very contributions which at that time Marlborough said the Dutch were thirsting for. So it is in the following years. For having to bring the States to a proper disposition for exerting themselves in the next campaign, he assures them that the Emperor, for his part, is quite content "that their Mightinesses shall be reimbursed their extraordinary outlay for artillery, forage, and other outgoings *from the contributions that may be drawn from France, preferably to all other charges.*"† So writes Marlborough to Prince Eugene.

When the campaign of 1705 opens, he finds that the Dutch, Germans, or contractors, have played him false; that his dépôts are only half filled; and that instead of being able to subsist at Trèves by what has been already collected, he must send away "expresses to Coblentz and Mentz," in his rear, to "hasten with all speed, corn or flour for one month, which we hope will give us time to replenish our magazines."‡ The magazines in advance being unfilled, do the troops fall back on those in the rear? No; *they advance to find subsistence.* While the enemy are laying the country waste, and "do not spare even their own places, having burned several villages, that we may find no subsistence nor quarters," the English army advances on the other side of the Moselle, "where I hope they will be able to subsist, that we may spare the magazines."§

In the mean time, the outlook is rather gloomy. On *this* side the river, there is very little corn in the fields. The season has been bleak beyond belief; the grass and

* Madgett, vol. i. p. 209.

† Dec. 21, 1704. Despatches, vol. i. p. 561.

‡ Coxe, i. p. 274.

§ Despatches, vol. ii. p. 55.

oats that ought to have been in great abundance, are destroyed by the frosts; the enemy are burning their villages that we may get no help from them; instead of being able to take bread from the enemy, the country is so bare and the unexpected necessity of relying on magazines so complete, that "if bread failed us only for a single day, I know not what would become of us;"* the case is almost desperate. To Prince Eugene he bitterly complains that the German Princes kept back the equipments with which he was to have besieged Saar Louis; whereas "if they had enabled me to undertake the siege at the beginning, I should have had all Lorraine at my disposal, and could have drawn thence abundant supplies."†

What more striking than the change of moral sentiment from generation to generation! Marlborough was not judged by his enemies even to be a harsh man, or of a sanguinary disposition, in spite of his "300 towns, villages, and castles," his "military executions," and his wide spread devastations. A century passes over, in which, if Vattel may be believed and the eulogists of Vauban,‡ war had become even more harsh and fierce, particularly in respect to plunder, contributions, and the bombardments of towns. A race of great soldiers spring up, who, with whatever abuses, make war in the main upon the old principles, and carry out the old practices; when, lo! a new moral sense, sharpened by party rancour and quickened by national revenge, fastens upon them for so doing, and judges them with ignorant severity. At this day, indeed, the warmest admirers of French soldiership justly denounce as inhuman what Marlborough's admirers set forth and sanction. When Suchet, in Lerida, thrust the unarmed inhabitants between the besiegers and the castle, to shorten the siege by working upon the humanity of the governor, Napier replies, that, though blood was undoubtedly saved by this expedient, yet it was a means to make victory fall "to him who could longest have sustained the sight of mangled infants and despairing mothers."§ But when Marlborough reduced to ashes those three hundred towns and

* Despatches, vol. ii. pp. 55—103.

† Ibid. p. 124.

‡ Noel Eloge de Vauban, pp. 64, 65.

§ Napier, iii. p. 157.

villages, not merely to weaken his enemy, but, as his panegyrist tells us, hoping also “*that a generous compassion for his distressed subjects, would at length conquer the Elector’s obstinacy*”^{*}—what was this but to place victory as a prize for him who had the toughest bowels? And, in principle, what difference can we find between the humane Englishman and the ferocious Gaul?

In the course of 1705, “reason of war” carries Marlborough from the Moselle to the Meuse; the campaign on the French frontier is abandoned; and for the present we hear no more of contributions violently exacted from the enemies’ territory. The same year, however, before its close, brings us information on another part of the subject. On the sixteenth of August, mention is made of “the treaty for contributions [recently] concluded at the Hague:”[†] a treaty, says Marlborough, which does much prejudice not only to the public interests, but to the private interests of the aforesaid Baron Spaar. What the terms of this compact are, we do not discover; nor in that lazy campaign, so far distant from the French frontier, is there much said about contributions in any way.

The next year, 1706, came the battle of Ramillies; Marlborough approached the frontier, and his foragers and plundering parties went beyond it. A French historian shall tell us what happened in Artois that same year. “The country of Laleu having refused to pay ‘contribution’ because it was situated in Artois, and the king had forbidden that province to contribute, the Duke of Marlborough sent fourteen *Maréchaussées* to compel them. But at the first sound of the tocsin, four hundred armed peasants assembled, fell upon these functionaries (*archers*), and made them beg for quarter. The peasants captured seven, whom they bound and took off well-corded to the Commandant of Bethune, who approved their conduct.”[‡] It is obvious that this was no mere marauding expedition, but an organized system; not soldiers to plunder, but functionaries to assess and collect; the persons few in number; a peaceable submission expected; the right canvassed and adjudged; and the officers seized and

* Lediard, i. p. 350.

† Despatches, ii. p. 222.

‡ De Quincey, Hist. Militaire de Louis le Grand, vol. v. p. 44.

detained not as marauders, but as functionaries who exact beyond the limits of the law.

Whether the Treaty of Contributions in force in 1706, was the one of which Marlborough complained the former year, we cannot tell; but one is rather surprised to find the French, in the autumn of 1706, levying or claiming contributions under the nose of the people of Ghent,* while the English troops have their winter quarters in that very city, and “the greatest part of the army is in the frontier towns,”† some forty miles in advance. In the main, Marlborough admits the French claim, but if their Intendants make exorbitant demands, he engages to procure redress. A similar claim upon the country of Juliers, which was also in possession of the allies,‡ is resisted and refused.§

This apparent anomaly is in part explained, by the more copious notices of the practice of contribution in the year 1708, after the battle of Oudenarde; from which it appears that the belligerents strove to levy these war taxes not only from the countries which they occupied, but from all the hostile provinces they could reach with their plundering parties. The contribution-treaties were not made once for all at the beginning of the war, as Vattel supposes, but in succession for separate districts; and the plan was to burn and ravage your enemy into consenting to a treaty.

The battle of Oudenarde was fought on the 11th of July, and struck a great terror into the French. Marlborough followed up his success with the least possible delay by wholesale devastation. Eight days after the battle (19th July,) he writes—“Since the last post we have sent several detachments into the enemy’s country, which has put them under great consternation. One of the parties, consisting of 500 horse and 300 hussars, advanced as far as the gates of Arras, and *having burnt the suburbs*, returned this morning with little or no loss, and brought in forty prisoners.”|| “That and some other burnings,” he writes to Godolphin, “have given a very great consternation, insomuch that they are already come to tell us that

* Despatches, vol. iii. p. 233. † Ibid. p. 209.

‡ Ibid. p. 206.

§ Ibid. p. 135.

|| Despatches, vol. iv. p. 120.

they have sent to the king for leave to treat for the contributions.”* Four days later (23rd July,) he writes to Harley—“We are doing all we can to annoy the enemy. This morning we sent a detachment of 1,600 men to get possession of the town of Armentières, *to encourage the parties we send daily into France* to continue the alarm and consternation among them.”† “We send, daily, parties into France, which occasions great terror.”‡ Three days later (26th July,) “the Duke of Berwick, and M. de Bernier, the Intendant, in the king’s name, order all the people to abandon their dwellings and retire to the strong towns.”§ Four days later (30th July,) Marlborough reports to Mr. Secretary Boyle, that Count Tilly “continued encamped with the horse at Lens, and *sent out parties into Picardy, to oblige that province to submit to contribution; the country of Artois having already agreed with M. Pestiers, the States’ Intendant, for 500,000 crowns.*”|| On the 2nd of August, Count Tilly, plunderer-general, has “recalled all the detachments he sent into Picardy, where they have burnt and ravaged a good way into Picardy.”¶

One great motive of all this ravaging, is to keep the Dutch in good humour. They are all for the defensive, but it is thus they are coaxed into a forward movement. “My only hopes are, that their eagerness for contribution may incline them to let us act with the troops we have; we having already settled 500,000 crowns for the country of Artois, and we hope to get them much more from Picardy. This being a contribution that is likely to last as long as the war, I did flatter myself, &c.”**

But how did the poor French people take these little burnings and incursions? Did they exclaim against Marlborough and the Dutch, for any unusual ferocity? Not at all. Their outcry was against Vendôme, “against whom they exclaim very much for staying where he is,”†† and allowing them to be plundered. If he were to retreat, a “treaty” must be made, and incursions be succeeded

* Despatches, vol. ii. p. 263.

† Ibid. vol. iv. p. 126.

‡ Coxe, ii. p. 271.

§ Ibid. p. 273.

|| Despatches, vol. iv. p. 136.

¶ Ibid. p. 143.

** Coxe, ii. pp. 274, 75.

†† Ibid. p. 275.

by contribution. However, for the present, the worthy Picards must bear their sufferings as they best can; for not till two years later do we hear of any such arrangement. On the 22nd of May, 1710, Marlborough reports to Mr. Secretary Boyle—"I have just now a trampet from M. Bernage, Intendant of Picardy, to desire passes for Commissioners to come and treat of the contributions for that part of the province which lies on this side of the Somme,"*

Now if the reader wishes to understand these "contributions" in the concrete, and not merely as they figure somewhat abstractedly in public documents and despatches, we beg him to turn to the *Life and Adventures of Mrs. Christian Davies*; the Queen of Marauders; the keen-witted, strong-handed, undaunted Mother Ross; trained in the shrewdest if not in the thriftiest school of plunder; Marlborough, her benefactor, though ill of the ague, she followed his hearse "with a heavy heart and streaming eyes;" caressed by Argyle, kissed and fondled by his Duchess; a boon companion with the officers of every grade; witty, generous, chaste, sober, honest; half man and half woman; first dragoon, and then sutler, with a spice of the Commissary; nine parts fact, and perhaps one-tenth fiction. If Defoe, or any body else, *improved* the genuine text of these memoirs, as it flowed "from her own] mouth" in Chelsea hospital,—nay if the scribe who committed it to writing, were wholly an inventer instead of a faithful recorder—it would matter very little for our purpose. It suffices for us, that in 1740, Mother Ross was supposed, both in the army and out of it, to give a true picture of the military practices of our most glorious war in the Low Countries. What says she?

"We were sometimes sent out to forage; the poor peasants fled before us, leaving their implements of husbandry in the field."† We "burnt the houses of peasants and gentlemen, and forced the inhabitants, with what few cattle had escaped the insatiable enemy, to seek refuge in the woods."‡ "We spared nothing, killing, burning, or otherwise destroying, whatever we could not carry off. The bells of the churches we broke to pieces.....I filled two bed-ticks, after having thrown out the feathers, with bell-metal, men's

* Despatches, vol. v. p. 30.

† Defoe's *Misc. Works*, Oxford Edit., p. 280.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 291.

and women's clothes, some velvets, and about a hundred Dutch caps, which I had plundered from a shop..... Besides the above things, as I was not idle, I got several pieces of plate, as spoons, mugs, cups, &c.*

This was, in Bavaria, Mother Ross's practice as Dragoon!

In Flanders, when the discovery of her sex drove her to some other employment, she undertook to cook for her husband's regiment, but soon abandoned this tame pursuit, because it "prevented my marauding, which was vastly more beneficial."† Her skill was learned of the—French? No, "of the Dutch soldiers in Ireland, when King William was there; for they discovered by this method and took away a chest of linen my mother had hid underground, with a large quantity of wheat." Her "method" was the very same as that used by the French soldiers in Spain:—"With my sword, which I carried to discover what was buried, I bored the ground where I found it had been lately stirred." But this was only a part. "During this siege, or indeed any other, I never lost an opportunity of marauding. To this end I was furnished with a grappling-iron and a sword, for I must acquaint my reader, that on the approach of an army, the boors throw their plate, copper, &c., into wells; their linen they bury in chests, and for their own security, they get into fortified towns or under the shelter of some strong place. With my grapple I searched all the wells I met with, and got good booty, sometimes kitchen utensils, brass pails, pewter dishes, &c.; sometimes a silver spoon."‡ Nor did Mother Ross disdain any other species of plunder; pigeons, sheep, faggots, hay, straw, flasks and casks of beer, sweet herbs, money, flour, hot bread, bacon, cocks and hens, pots of butter, corn, vinegar, brandy, sprouts, beef hung and fresh, eggs, pullets, apples,—these, and no doubt other articles of consumption, are casually mentioned by her as having been the reward of her laudable public industry. How the Flemish boors relished this general appropriation of their produce, we may gather from a passage in the Memoirs of Captain Carleton, who records that on a certain day he went into a boor's house

* Ibid. p. 294.

† Ibid. p. 313.

‡ Defoe's Misc. Works, pp. 354, 55.

which was deserted, and there, to his horror, in an inner room, "at the mouth of the oven which had not yet lost its heat, I spied the corpse of a man so bloated, swollen, and parched, as left me little room to doubt that the oven had been the scene of his destiny. * * * On enquiry, I was soon made sensible that such barbarous usage is too common among these people; especially if they meet a straggler, of what nation soever." And, take notice, this happened in a year (1677) when King William having kept a better discipline than usual among his troops, "the boors did not give us their customary boorish reception." Does not this very nearly equal the choicest specimens that can be produced of French rapacity and Spanish vengeance? Now this plunder, as we have described it, was not an *abuse* but a *system*.

In Frederic's time, the practice of Contributions remained, but the Treaties had gone out of fashion. The invader ravaged, burned, levied, and prowled about with swords and grapples *à discretion*. There were in those times no ethical scruples about making war maintain war; and if Frederic abstained from invading Bohemia because he would not cast off the trammels of magazines, this can only be attributed to a want of military audacity and strategic skill. Marlborough, who ravaged as we have seen, who was only the more anxious to press on *because* his magazines failed him, and who was prepared to make war maintain war in the very heart of France, surely in so doing, displayed a very decided strategic originality.

In spite of the wonderful moveability of modern armies, and the complete abandonment of "the war of positions," entrenched lines and camps are still used on occasion. No Englishman can forget the ever-famous lines of Torres Vedras. Even Napoleon did not disdain at Dresden the help of this temporary substitute for active strength; and Soult at Bayonne protected himself by restoring entrenchments, which had been traced by Vauban in the age of which we are now treating. Wellington, however, not merely knew how to use lines, but how to storm them; and the gigantic labours of Soult availed him but little when the actual conflict arrived. Napier* goes so far as to question whether Wellington did not owe his triumph

* Vol. vi. pp. 353-4.

at Torres Vedras to the circumstance that "his lines were not attacked;" and comments with some severity on "those extensive covering lines by which soldiers are taught to consider themselves inferior in strength and courage to their enemies." Certain it is, that Wellington so far distrusted his own lines as to make the most anxious preparations for embarkation, in the event of their being forced; and he showed no respect to those of Soult, when it became his turn to be the assailant. Napier fortifies his criticism by reference to Marlborough: "In modern times the Duke of Marlborough broke through all the French lines in Flanders." When the peace of Europe hangs, as it now does, in a very unpleasant suspense—when the art of fortification itself is assuming, or threatening to assume, a new character—when huge lines are drawn round Paris, and the Rhine and Danube are being covered by gigantic fortresses of a construction formidable, but yet untried, one would like to have a critical enquiry into the operations of our great English general a century and a half ago against what was in *his* day a new system of fortifications, the defence of which was conducted under the personal superintendence of the most renowned of military engineers.

This relation of Marlborough's operations to the history of his art has not, we think, been much insisted on by Coxe, or his editor, or even by Mr. Alison. Marlborough—Captain Churchill—commenced his military career on the Rhine and in Flanders, under Turenne and—Vauban. His early experience at the age of twenty-three gave him to see the first essays of the great engineer in the new line which he had struck out. The siege of Maestricht in 1673, where Churchill distinguished himself by desperate valour in storming the half-moon, and "received the thanks of Louis XIV. at the head of the army," as Coxe duly relates, was also famous as the commencement of a new era in the art of fortification. Vauban, at the mature age of forty, there first practised his famous "parallels and places of arms," by which the besieger's approach was made at once safer and surer—the first of a series of improvements, not only in the attack, but still more in the defence of places, which reached a certain degree of perfection in Vauban's lifetime, but which modern science and ingenuity have not ceased continually to improve.

There can be no doubt that Vauban did a great deal to confirm the "war of positions" then prevalent, especially

when, after the deaths of Condé and Turenne, surrounded by such minor stars as Vendôme, Villars, and even Villeroy, he became the presiding genius of the French military arrangements. Under his direction thirty-three new fortresses were built, and three hundred places were guarded by new and improved works. To the Flemish frontier his particular attention was directed; he covered it with fortified towns, even to extravagance, though, it seems, the excess is to be set down to the account, not of Vauban, but of Louvois, his employer.* He first taught, if his admirers are to be believed, the art of *constructing a frontier*; arranging his fortresses with reference to the soil, the face of the country, the great roads and lines of communication, the operations of armies, and their own mutual support. After the peace of Ryswick, in 1697, he spent several years upon the frontier—the northern frontier particularly—applying his best skill to making perfect a system of defences, for which he had already done so much. He arranged beforehand, in detail, the best method of carrying on either an offensive or a defensive war; he exercised a general watchfulness over the operations; and in 1706 he threw himself personally into Dunkirk, to preserve at least that port and fortress from the strength and skill of the allies. When, therefore, Marlborough commenced hostilities in 1702, he was not merely tied down to a war of posts, but he had before him the ablest engineer in the world, who had covered that frontier with a profusion of his best works, and who, during half of the war, was at hand to invigorate his own system of defence.

Of the two great ideas which M. Allent, in his "*Histoire du corps du génie*,"† attributes to Vauban in his earlier labours, one is that of "constructing entrenched camps in connection with fortresses," and applying these with a science till then little known. But this was not merely a whim of his early practice. To the last he "attached great importance to entrenched camps so constructed for the defence of a frontier;" and "he considered that one or two positions thus taken up by a force in an unattackable site, except by a regular siege, would

* Jomini, *Precis*, vol. i. p. 340.

† Quoted in the *Biographie Universelle*, Art. 'Vauban.'

enable an inferior army between them to contend against an enemy greatly superior.”* This theory he illustrated by his latest practice. In 1706, after the battle of Ramilies, besides sketching a plan for the fortification of Paris, Vauban, as we have said, took the command at Dunkirk, where “he employed twelve thousand pioneers to make two entrenched camps between the city of Dunkirk and Fort Louis; that is to say, one between the canal of La Mour and that of Bergues, and the other between the canal of Bergues and that of Bourbourg. These two camps could contain fifteen thousand men.”†

The system of entrenched lines—which the French adopted, and of which Marlborough was the assailant, as far as he was allowed, by that “war of vigour” which is the characteristic of modern times—was the system of Vauban, carried by him to its highest perfection; and a satisfactory estimate of Marlborough should treat him, we humbly imagine, as the correlative of Vauban, and describe his merits with reference to the obstacles which Vauban opposed to him, both in the art of fortification, and in the ideas about war in which he confirmed his contemporaries.

In 1705, Vauban being still alive, Marlborough performed the famous achievement of passing the great lines which, following the course of the Little Gheet and the Demer, connected Namur with Antwerp. This was accomplished with little loss; Vauban saw his favourite entrenchments about to fall into discredit; wherefore, in his treatise on the “Attack of Places,” in the chapter, *De la manière d’empêcher les secours*, he sets himself to establish the true method of a successful defence. In full sunlight he thinks they are impregnable, except by a miracle. (Is not the battle of Malplaquet a significant commentary on this?) But by night there is more danger unless they are better defended than heretofore. What must be done is not to line the works with troops equally along their whole extent, but to try in every possible way—by spies, prisoners and exact observations—to discover where and when the enemy means to attack. He enumerates the symptoms to be noted, as—where the most exact reconnoissance

* Aide Memoire, vol. i. p. 201, Art. “*Camp, entrenched.*”

† De Quincy, vol. v. p. 19.

is made; what places are within the compass of a sudden march in a summer's night; whether the enemy lays many bridges over a stream or river that must be crossed; and the like. If these and other proper precautions be taken, "it is almost impossible for the enemy to prevent a timely discovery of his intentions." Alas! the "impossibility" was achieved by Marlborough in the last year of the war. All, or some of these symptoms were made in *feint*; spies could reveal nothing, because the scheme was kept a profound secret; to save time, soldiers were moved down upon the lines from garrisons nearer them, but distant from the camp; and to support this first occupation, Marlborough, getting the start by two or three hours, marched so rapidly "full thirteen leagues," that "more than one-half of the foot dropped behind, nor did they all come up till two days after; several fainted, and died by the way."* And thus he succeeded in carrying, almost without the loss of a life, the *non plus ultra* lines of Marshal Villars.

To be sure the merit of breaking through Vauban's frontier, is, in a certain degree diminished by a circumstance which has a sort of interest for us in the present day; for in these Queen Anne's sieges a point of military honour is involved, about which now is, or very lately was, a controversy pending. The circumstance to which we refer, is that, if Vauban may be believed, his fortifications were in almost every instance, during a period of thirty years, up to the time of his death, in 1707, very insufficiently defended by commandants whose notions of military duty were very imperfect. The modern question of honour to which this fact has reference arises thus.

In 1809 Napoleon issued an ordonnance to the Governor of Antwerp, which was afterwards published as a general instruction to the commandants of garrisons, and in which the Emperor, under pain of dishonour, and the infliction of military law, forbids all commandants to surrender even if the body of the place is open, unless they have stood one assault; and he assigns as a reason for this order "to prolong the defence and increase the enemy's loss." So long as he *can* hold the place, even for an hour, he *must* hold it, altogether uninfluenced by the hope "of

* Kane's Memoirs, pp. 93-5.

obtaining a more honourable capitulation." Some of our engineers, it seems, are indignant at this order, and in one of the notes* to Jones's "*Sieges in Spain*," it is declared to be "only fitting a predestinarian Turk, and not to be tolerated by a reflecting Christian." The writer maintains, that after a certain point there is no operation of a siege "more certain, more easy, or costs so few men," as gaining the summit of the breach; that a system enforced by terror must be resisted by greater terror; that if the governor of a garrison insists on his last retrenchment being stormed, no quarter should be given; that "in 1708, Marshal Boufflers, by authority from the king, given on the advice of the most experienced generals of that warlike age, ceded the strongest fortress in France to Prince Eugene and the Duke of Marlborough, to avoid the risk of breaches being carried by storm;" that Buonaparte's modern Counts and Barons are not such good authorities as the high-minded nobility of Louis XIV.; and, in a word, that it is infamous "to spill the blood of brave men without a justifiable object." This note we find reproduced without comment of any kind in the third edition (just published) of this valuable work.

Napier (vol. vi., p. 139, &c.) replies with much seeming reason, that "to condemn an enemy's system from which we have ourselves suffered, will scarcely bring it into disrepute;" that as the bravest men and officers will be foremost in the assault, their loss may be a matter of great importance; that Napoleon wished merely to stimulate resistance to the utmost, and to rest military honour on the courage and resources of men rather than on the strength of walls; that in practice the case is very rare in which extraordinary heroism may not aid materially in prolonging the defence; that if the resistance of the garrison is to be measured by the rules of art, so must the besiegers assault—whereas, "in Spain, not one siege could be conducted by the British army according to rules;" that Vauban allows of "one assault and several retrenchments after a lodgment is made in the body of the place;" and that on the whole Napoleon's soldiers are better authority than "Louis's cringing courtiers."

It does not belong to a civilian to decide between such

* Note 36, vol. ii., pp. 336-8.

great doctors; otherwise the Duke's despatch (10th Sept. 1813) printed in the text of the "*Sieges, &c.*" (vol. ii. p. 98) would seem to settle the question. The Duke there distinctly states that "*under the ordonnance recently issued by the French government, the difficulties of the operations of the siege, and the length of time it must take, are materially increased.*" If the effect of the ordonnance is greatly to prolong sieges and increase their difficulties, how can it be said that it spills blood without a justifiable object?

We would ask, too, whether the code of Louis XIV. *can* be of authority in such a matter in the present day? And whether the practice of war in the *field* must not most materially affect the rules of service in the *garrison*? Take, for instance, the siege referred to—that of Lille in 1708. From the 11th August to the 8th December Marshal Boufflers held the town and citadel against Marlborough and Eugene. But during all that time, Marshals Vendome and Berwick were looking on with a force superior to that of the besiegers and doing nothing; not fighting or wishing to fight; and not even preventing the allies from drawing stores necessary for the siege right through their inactive host. When the army did so little, what end could it answer for the garrison to sacrifice lives in an assault, merely to keep the troops on both sides a week longer out of winter quarters? The *purpose* of an obstinate defence must be measured by what takes place out of the fortress. If each of four towns prolongs its defence ten or eleven days, six weeks are gained on the whole by a certain sacrifice of life. But what is the value of these six weeks? If the generals outside will spend them in dawdling inactivity, the blood has been shed for nothing. But if, as in the Vittoria campaign, six weeks mean—"marching six hundred miles, passing six great rivers, gaining one decisive battle, investing two fortresses, and driving a hundred and twenty thousand veteran troops from Spain," or any equivalent to this—then the gain of six weeks at the expense of a few hundred lives may be blood well and justifiably shed.

But, to treat the subject in a manner more accordant with our present design. What is the value of the French practice in the Marlborough wars, as tested by French authority? The highest authority of the time is Vauban himself, who died only just before the siege of Lille, and

who was remarkable for nothing so much as humanity and economy of blood. What says Vauban? Almost on his death-bed he wrote his famous treatise on the *Defence of Places*, precisely because the practice of that day fretted and galled him to the quick. He declares that "for thirty years past the fortresses which have been besieged, whether by the French or the enemy, have been far from making such well-conducted defences as might be desired, Keyzerswerth excepted;" and in another place he gives his reasons for thinking even the defence of Keyzerswerth "*fort estimée, quoique defectueuse*." He describes with sarcastic severity the practice of the "high-minded nobility of France." Many governors, he says, have thought they might capitulate with honour, "after having appeared sword in hand on the top of the breach at the head of a battalion which does not fight, but only stands the fire of the enemies' canon and musquetry, and then retires behind some feeble retrenchment which seems to have been made only for the capitulation of the troops, and not for the defence of the place."

And why were such prompt capitulations made? Vauban shall answer. "The cause of so speedy a capitulation is sometimes the arguments of the officers, who, thinking little of their honour and glory, and wishing to keep for themselves some small equipments, persuade the governor, who often wishes to be persuaded, that he can capitulate with honour, and that it is much better, by a voluntary treaty to assure the liberty of the inhabitants, and march out, drums beating, colours flying, &c., &c., than to wait for an approaching extremity and run the risk of being carried by main force. * * * It would not be impossible to bring more resources into play, and to *render the defence still more long and ruinous to the besieger*," (almost the very words of Napoleon's Ordonnance) "if the governors and officers were better instructed in their duties than they are, and were willing to sacrifice their interests to their glory and the good of the country." Nay, so certain is Vauban that the universal bad defences of his time were owing to the incompetence, moral and intellectual, of the "high minded nobility" aforesaid, that he, like Napoleon, suggests his remedy. He proposes that every officer, when put in command of a town, shall be bound to prepare a "project of defence;" and that, if after several essays he can produce nothing satisfactory, he shall be deprived of his employment.

On the famous siege of Menin in 1706, which occurred while he was perfecting his entrenched camps in Dunkirk, Vauban has a special note. He begins by saying, that if none but capable officers were made governors, "they would defend themselves quite differently from what they do in the present day, when the best places, and those which have been fortified with the greatest care, make very little more defence than the worst fortified." When Menin, one of the strongest places in France, surrendered, (he continues,) "I could not help saying, that there were still two half-moons to be taken, the approaches into the ditch to make, and a flank of the place, which having nothing against it but the inundation could not be breached." And he calls it a disgrace that so strong a place was lost in so short a time.

M. Foissac, the republican editor of Vauban, in 1795, thinks this censure very severe and even undeserved. The place, he says, made all the resistance that could be expected. It surrendered only "at the last extremity," after having been invested thirty-nine days, and stood eighteen days of open trenches. Moreover, the garrison capitulated only by the express order of Vendome, who commanded the army in the field. It is very true that the governor, M. de Caraman, did capitulate by the express order of Vendome, like Marshal Boufflers at Lille; but instead of holding out to "the last extremity," he surrendered expressly because Vendome commanded him *not* to wait for the "extremity," but to save the garrison by a good capitulation.* Vauban was quite right. Menin might have held out longer, and, as we shall see, if it had done so, another of the strongest places, Dendermond, would have been saved for that year.

Not merely Vauban, but Marlborough thought very little of the defences made by the French in Flanders. His despatches on the four great sieges of 1706, prove this beyond a doubt. Ostend, Menin, Dendermond and Ath, all surrendered sooner than he expected. Before Ostend, the trenches were opened on the 28th of June; on the 4th of July a lodgment was made in the counterscarp; on the evening of the 5th, (Monday,) Marlborough, being then before the place, thought it would surrender "by the end of the week;" but it beat a parley the very next day.

* De Quincey, vol. v. p. 35, 46, 2, 3.

Menin was invested on the 22nd of July; the 4th of August trenches opened; 12th of August, "we have no reason to complain of any great resistance from the besieged;" 18th of August, lodgment made on the counterscarp; 21st or 22nd of August, the batteries begin to make the breach; 22nd of August the garrison "beat a parley sooner by some days than we could reasonably have expected, and they were allowed to capitulate, as time is very precious to us," for laying siege to Dendermond.

Dendermond was invested 26th of August. On the 29th they break ground; 4th of September, (Saturday,) the heavy batteries begin to play. "I shall stay here a day or two," wrote the Duke to the Hague,* "in order to press the attack; to-morrow evening" (Sunday,) "or Monday, we shall have made such progress as to be able to judge pretty nearly how the matter will go." To-morrow evening? He has not to wait so long. To-morrow morning "at ten o'clock," the governor offered to capitulate, and "about five in the afternoon," he and his garrison surrendered prisoners of war. Dendermond was habitually so blocked up with inundations, that when Louis heard they were going to besiege it, he said, "they must have an army of ducks to take it." Marlborough said the place "could never have been taken, but by the hand of God, which gave us seven weeks without any rain. *The rain began the next day after we had possession.*"† So that if Ostend and Menin had each held out a week longer, Dendermond could not have been taken, and would not have been besieged. "If it should rain we cannot continue before it."‡

Ath was invested 16th of September; trenches opened on the 20th; on the 30th "more difficulties than were foreseen may cost us *seven or eight days more*, if the besieged are resolved to defend it to the utmost." *The very next day* the Governor offered to capitulate, and the next day but one, in the afternoon, the garrison surrendered prisoners of war. It is in one of his despatches from before Ath, that Marlborough shows how he estimated the stubbornness of French defence, when he says,—“I hope it will not

* Despatches, vol. iii. p. 116.

† Coxe, i. p. 454.

‡ Ibid. p. 452.

be many days before I shall be able to give you an account of being master of the counterscarp, *beyond which the French have not yet defended any place in these parts.*"*

If anything further were needed to prove, that the point of honour in the beginning of the eighteenth century, cannot (and will not) be taken as a binding rule in the middle of the nineteenth, it is to be found in the new German system of fortification, as expounded by officers of what were recently legitimate monarchs, and laid before us with no outward protest by loyal English engineers.† The essential principle of this new system, is to make each fortress consist of independent works, all of which must be subdued before the place is taken; the defence of each of these works "would be permanently entrusted to one division, which would take up its quarters in it, arrange the different garrison duties, and learn to consider the work as its home, *the defence of which would be a point of honour, and the men would join their own existence to the last heap of ruins.*" Here is a new point of honour with a vengeance! What do our peninsular engineers say to that? Depend upon it, the present is no "age of Louis XIV.;" though even the age of Louis XIV. could hold up to honour him who was called "Calvo the Brave," and who being besieged in Maestricht in 1675, summoned the officers about him and said, "Gentlemen, I know nothing about the defence of strong places; all I know is, that I will never surrender:" and he did *not* surrender, being relieved after a fifty days' siege by Marshal Schomberg. Not one "Calvo," through his ten years' war, did Marlborough encounter to defend a town; not one Schomberg to relieve a town; and if this, as it does, detracts somewhat from the difficulty of his enterprise and the merits of his success, it should also be borne in mind, that if he had bad governors *against* him, he had very bad engineers *under* him; and that if the French Marshals stood obstinately on the defensive, it was fear of him that would not let them stir.

In conclusion, it must surely be admitted, that if by his genius the problem of defensive or offensive war was rightly solved with reference to his opportunities, and

* Despatches, vol. iii. p. 141.

† Aide Memoire, vol. ii. p. 49.

the state of the military art in his time, against so great a power as France, and so great a genius as that of Vauban, it is difficult to understand how a higher and more solid triumph could have been achieved by any man, nor how it can be truly said, in the words of the "Cabinet" biographer, that "he left the art in the same state in which he found it." Surely, to have *taught* this lesson, was a much grander achievement, than to have invented a wilderness of new equipments, evolutions, lines of march, orders of battle, and other improvements of detail. And if his career made no "epoch in military history," if he left no pupils behind him to appreciate his great lessons, we may say of him, what Napoleon said of Turenne in reply to the same objection—"That was the mere caprice of chance. The contrary ought to have happened, but it is not always in the master's power to form good pupils; nature must lend her aid: the seed must be sown in a fertile soil." Here it should seem nature lent *no* aid, and as for the soil, the seed fell upon the barrenest of all lands, the eighteenth century! To military critics, as we have said, we must leave it to pronounce whether *our* Duke or his predecessor was the greater in tactics and strategy; but that which a high authority in the art* calls "the most difficult and sublime part of this or any other profession"—that is—"the art of persuading, and of offering such motives to the troops, that he becomes entirely possessed of their inclinations, and disposes of their forces with unlimited authority,"—comes, we may modestly say, in part at least within our competence. Of this art, it seems hardly possible to deny that Marlborough was the greater master. Wellington, indeed, exercised a wonderful authority. He lay at night on the bare ground, shared with the meanest soldier the hardships and fatigues of duty, was just and disinterested, and inspired his troops with the fullest confidence, that whatever danger he thrust them on, was necessary for the good of the whole, was part of a calculated plan, and would be borne out by all the support he could afford. There was, too, the pride of following and obeying so great a chief. Yet, beyond this, Napier tells us that while "he always exacted the confidence of his soldiers as

* Lloyd, vol. iii. p. 70.

a leader, it is not so certain that he ever gained their affections.”* He “acquired partisans and personal friends rather than the attachment of the multitude. He did not make the hard-working military crowd feel that their honest unobtrusive exertions were appreciated.”† He ruled them by respect, confidence, and terror, but not by love.

This “iron” disposition produced the inevitable results. His army, which in five campaigns had become a perfect machine for fighting, was for everything else “detestable, and the officers as culpable as the men.” These are his own words, and Napier, though with a protest against their sweeping generality, admits “that his complaints were generally too well founded.” From before Talavera, to after Vittoria, it was the same story. In May, 1809, when there was no extraordinary success to shake discipline, when “there never was an army so well supplied, or which had so little excuse for plunder,” they “behaved terribly ill;” “plundered in every direction;” are “a rabble who can bear neither success nor failure;” and whom he is “endeavouring to tame.” The Duke’s vehement oburgations after the disorganizing retreat from Madrid in the Salamanca campaign, are well known; but *before* Salamanca, the private complaints were just as urgent. The “outrages,” were become “enormous”—“outrages of every description,” and the non-commissioned officers “as little to be depended on as the private soldiers.” The battle of Vittoria totally annihilated all order and discipline *as usual*;” and “we shall do no good until we *force* all ranks to perform their duty.” “All,” officers and soldiers alike, “never attend to an order with an intention to obey it;” “if discipline means habits of obedience to order, we have but little of it in the army; nobody thinks of obeying an order.” And this it seems is in accordance with the fixed opinion of the Duke about the essential character of “a British army.”† No doubt the “cold shade of the aristocracy” has a good deal to do with this; but does the whole matter lie in that one fault? Under Marlborough there was the same cold shade; but was the result the same?

* Vol. vi. p. 166.

† Ibid. vol. v. p. 359.

‡ Despatch, 31 May, 1809, to Mr. Villiers.

Mr. Alison remarks, to the honour and glory of Wellington, that in his addresses to his troops he invariably appeals to duty, and never to glory; while Napoleon invariably appeals to glory, and never to duty. Between the two Dukes, one may mark a cognate distinction not less note-worthy. *Our* Duke always speaks of duty, but never of God or religion. To be sure, he treats now and then of chaplains as part of the army establishment; he mildly allows "psalm-singing" to be, "in the abstract, perfectly innocent," though it may degenerate into "an abuse;" and the memoir writers rarely fail to put into his mouth on all suitable occasions the sounding expletive, "By G—d." But beyond such an occasional notice as this, *our* Duke does not seem to have much concern with religion in the management of his army, nor does he provide any tolerably effective substitute for this powerful moving force. The "duty" which he enforces is of rather a cheerless kind. It is the duty of marching hard, living hard, fighting hard, storming hard, being shot at a stipulated price, and then priding yourself on having performed your share of the bargain. The contract fulfilled on both sides, there is an end of the matter; and if you want medals or other distinction to put you on a level with your inferiors in point of service—that does not come within the Duke's province.

Queen Anne's Duke was of a very different temperament. Infinitely inferior to Wellington in high principle, lofty sentiments of honour, and detestation of meanness, he had, so to speak, a larger *surface* of character. *Below* the surface, all was as hard as the rock; a firm, compacted, well-knit, vigorous, organic selfishness, without crack or flaw of any kind, except, perhaps, that exaggerated avarice which crept upon him with the infirmities of old age. Underneath was the hardness of iron; but on the surface was a gay and smiling vegetation, refreshing by its fragrance, and very pleasing to the eye. The most *finished grace of manner; a certain royalty of deportment*, smiling, majestic, attractive, commanding, but not inspiring too much awe or fear; a real but superficial good nature; a certain skin-deep sensitiveness of temperament, which enabled him to read the thoughts and feelings of *others*, and adjust himself by the knowledge so acquired; a love of decorum in all things, and therefore a dislike

of the profligate excesses which marked many of his contemporaries; a mind made up, too, of the various political tendencies of his own time, touching them all on all sides of him, answering to them all in turn but not unduly occupied or subdued by any; acting vigorously, but with as little friction as possible; having many enemies made for him by circumstances, by injudicious friends, by the successes that made him formidable, but making few enemies himself; chastising the French, humbling their pride, ravaging their country, but greeting them with smiles and courtesies, comforting their prisoners, and winning them by professions of good-will; upholding the "Protestant interest" throughout Europe, but smooth to priests and nuns, humble to the Archbishop of Cambray, tolerant even of Irish papists; a Tory, but moderate and inclining to many Whiggish sentiments and connections; a Whig, but not bound up with the party until a torrent, which he could not resist, forced him to make one with their company; among the sovereigns and states of Europe, all things to all men that he might gain them all; and, finally, bringing to the management of his army these qualities in their full development; order, method, economy, kind treatment, sweetness of nature to persuade, authority to overawe; his plans known to be great, beyond the censure of common minds; his care and forethought known to extend to the minutest details of the soldier's comfort and the exigencies of a campaign; superintending the impartial distribution of plunder;* watching over the baggage and bread waggons as he watched over his own purse and perquisites; as much as he could, impregnating his soldiers and officers with the thin decoction of religious sensibility which coursed through his own veins; and, in a word, neglecting no means which a supple, subtle, strong, varied, and harmonious nature could bestow on him, to rule over the wills and affections of his troops.

His early biographer, Lediard, after the fashion of biographers, pushes the matter a little further than perhaps the truth will quite warrant. *He describes his camp as resembling "a well governed city, and perhaps much more mannerly."* No indecent expression ever dropped from his lips; among the better class of officers there was

* Mother Ross, p. 289.

no cursing, swearing, or blustering; all lewd women were sternly chased away by the Provost Marshal; the soldiers, "too many of them the refuse and dregs of the nation, became, after one or two campaigns, tractable, civil, orderly, sensible, and clean, and had an air and spirit above the vulgar." Every morning and evening there were prayers "according to the order of the Established Church;" every Sunday there were sermons; and, in a word, "his army was beyond all contradiction the best academy in the world to teach a young gentleman wit and breeding." Is it not strange? At home, Swift is writing a pamphlet (1708) to prove the inconvenience of abolishing nominal Christianity, the reality having long since disappeared; and abroad, the camp, ordinarily esteemed a school of vice and profaneness, holds forth, as we have seen, its Christian testimony to the world! Is there not some exaggeration in this?

One part of the description is unquestionable, namely, that too many of the soldiers were from the refuse and dregs of the nation. Farquhar, in *The Recruiting Officer*, written just after Blenheim, when the war was popular and the service respected, enumerates among Captain Plume's recruits, two sheep-stealers, who will keep the butcher's hands full, a horse-stealer, who will be useful in the dragoons, and the king of the gipsies, who has an excellent hand at a goose or a turkey. Perhaps these were accidental vagabonds; but, in fact, the army was designedly recruited from the sweepings of the jails. In 1704, drinking and other evil practices having done their utmost in the way of recruiting, an Act was passed enabling justices of the peace to *press* into the service vicious and idle persons, instead of leaving them a grievous burden on the poor-rates; and in 1708, the Queen, in answer to an address from the Commons, promises to have the Act diligently enforced—"nothing being more essential to the public service."^{*}

* "Scrub.—I dare not for fear of being sent for a soldier.—Pray, brother, how do you gentlemen in London like that same Pressing Act?"

"Archer.—Very ill, brother Scrub. 'Tis the worst that ever was made for us. Formerly, I remember the good days, when we could dun our masters for our wages, and if they refused to pay us, we could have a warrant to carry 'em before a Justice. But now, if

But is it true that these thieves, gipsies and vagabonds, after a campaign or two, became "something" above the vulgar?" Swift gives a very different picture. In his "Project for the advancement of Religion," written so early as 1709, he cannot see what ill consequences could be apprehended, "if swearing and profaneness, scandalous and avowed lewdness, excessive gaming and intemperance, were a little discountenanced in the army; if gentlemen of that profession were, at least, obliged to some external decorum;" and he represents a profligate character as "a means of advancement, and the appearance of piety a most infallible hindrance."

"I have been assured," he continues, "by several great officers, that no troops abroad are so ill-disciplined as the English; which cannot well be otherwise while the common soldiers have perpetually before their eyes the vicious example of their leaders; and it is hardly possible for those to commit any crime, whereof these are not infinitely more guilty and with less temptation. It is commonly charged upon the gentlemen of the army, that the beastly vice of drinking to excess hath been lately, from their example, restored amongst us; which, for some years before, was almost dropped in England."

These two evidences are at least sufficiently at variance. And it were to be wished that Mr. Alison, Mr. Coxe, or, at all events, Mr. Wade, had been at some pains to clear up the discrepancy. The first two quote Lediard's statement as unexaggerated truth, and the last passes it by without remark. To be sure, Swift—the most intrepid liar whom political controversy, fertile of such progeny, ever brought forth—is even here a doubtful witness. The year before, in his "Argument against abolishing Christianity," he relates that "two young gentlemen of real hopes, bright wit, and profound judgment, who, upon a thorough examination of causes and effects, and by the mere force of natural abilities, without the least tincture of learning, having made a

we talk of eating, they have a warrant for us, and carry us before three Justices.

"Scrub.—And to be sure we go if we talk of eating; for the Justices won't give their own servants a bad example. Now, this is my misfortune—I dare not speak in the house, while that jade gipsy dings about like a fury. Once I had the better end of the staff."—*The Beaux Stratagem*.

discovery that there was no God, and generously communicating their thoughts for the good of the public, were some time ago, by an unparalleled severity, and upon I know not what obsolete law, broke for blasphemy." He goes on in his comical way to excuse the General for this "high strain of absolute power," by suggesting that he may have been afraid of giving offence to the allies, "among whom, for aught we know, it may be the custom of the country to believe a God." But, he continues, "if he acted on the principle that a blasphemer may proceed to mutiny, he reasoned very ill: 'for surely the commander of an English army is like to be but ill obeyed, whose soldiers fear and reverence him as little as they do a Deity.'" He adds a question whether any man finds his want of nominal faith "a disadvantage to him in the pursuit of any civil or military employment." This was written in 1708, when Swift affected a neutral position between the two parties, and his evidence therefore attains its highest value.

Farquhar bears testimony to the same general repute. After a life ill-spent as a civilian, Sergeant *Kite* says of himself—"I at last got into the army, and there learned w—g and drinking." *Gay*, in his *Trivia*, (1712) adds the universal practice of gambling to this catalogue of sins, when he compares the booths and games on the frozen *Thames* to a military encampment.

"So when a general bids the martial train
Spread their encampment o'er the spacious plain,
Thick rising tents a canvass city build,
And the loud dice resound through all the field."

The irrefragable evidence of my *Uncle Toby* establishes the fact, that "our armies swore terribly in Flanders." This, indeed, was under William; and *Defoe's* Colonel Jack, too, when he reaches Ghent, hears "a great deal of swearing and damning for King William among the soldiers." But if Colonel Gardiner and Dr. *Doddridge* may be believed, the case, as to profaneness, was not much mended under Marlborough. Dr. *Doddridge* relates from the Colonel's lips, the story of a wound he got as an Ensign, at Ramilies, and he does it in these words:—"He planted his colours on an advanced ground; and while he was calling to his men—probably in that hor-

rid language which is so peculiar a disgrace to our soldiery, and so absurdly common in such articles of extreme danger—he received a shot in his mouth.”

Steele, speaking of the time when he was an Ensign in the Guards, describes the army as “a way of life exposed to much irregularity,” and on publishing his *Christian Hero*, he declares, “he found himself slighted, instead of being encouraged, for his declarations as to religion;” and that “from being thought no undelightful companion, he was soon reckoned a disagreeable fellow.” This, to be sure, was in the very beginning of Marlborough’s command. When the war was ended, (24th Nov., 1712,) Steele, in the *Spectator*, thus speaks more generally under the character of Captain Sentry. “I have ever held gentlemen who have preserved modesty, good nature, justice, and humanity in a soldier’s life, to be the most valuable and worthy persons of the human race. To pass through imminent dangers * * * for the greater part of man’s time, and pass the rest in sobriety, conformable to the rules of the most virtuous civil life, is a merit too great to deserve the treatment it usually meets with among the other part of the world. But I assure you, Sir, were there not very many who have this worth, we could never have seen the glorious events which we have in our days.” He adds, that the true character of a soldier is “the very contrary to him you observe loud, saucy, and overbearing, in a red coat about town.” This, no doubt, admirably tempers the severity of Swift’s condemnation; but coming from Steele, one of Marlborough’s most devoted partisans, it sufficiently proves, we think, that the general repute of army morality was nearer to Swift than to Lediard; and that Steele had no notion of a camp such as Lediard has described.

In an earlier *Spectator*, (24th August, 1711,) Captain Sentry tells us that soldiers, when they are not fighting, “usually spend the other part of their time in pleasures, upon which their minds are so entirely bent, that short labours are but a cheap purchase of jollity, triumph, victory, fresh quarters, new scenes and uncommon adventures. By “pleasures” in this passage, every one of Steele’s readers understood what Lediard expressly excludes from the army; and it is upon this the soldiers’ minds are “entirely bent.” “To such,” he adds, “the devastation of countries, the misery of inhabitants, the

cries of the pillaged, and the silent sorrow of the great unfortunate, are ordinary objects. Their minds are bent upon the little gratifications of their own senses and appetites, forgetful of compassion, insensible of glory, avoiding only shame; their whole hearts taken up with the trivial hope of meeting and being merry. These are the people who make up the gross of the soldiery." And then he puts in contrast with this, a model officer, who is beloved by all that know him; foremost in danger; his officers men of honour and gentlemen; the soldiers "his brethren, as they are of his species;" mutual love the order of the files where he commands. And then comes the climax of the praise: he feels the distresses of his soldiers—"Just in distributing what is their due, he would think himself below their tailor to wear a snip of their clothes in lace upon his own; and below the most rapacious agent, should he enjoy a farthing above his own pay. Go on, brave man, immortal glory is thy fortune, and immortal happiness thy reward." The officer who sat for this picture acquired the title of "*Honest Wood*" as a distinction, the brightest anticipations of glory in this life and of a heavenly reward hereafter, simply for not robbing his own soldiers to deck his person and put their money in his purse. And this is from a passionate admirer of the army, of the Duke, and of a military life. We commend this passage to the special notice of Mr. Cobden.

Farquhar corroborates this low view of army honour. He certainly does not mean Captain Plume (himself under an *alias*) to be a scoundrel, when making Sergeant Kite marry the mother of his own bastard, he says: "Set the mother down in your list, and the boy in mine. Enter him a grenadier by the name of Francis Kite, absent upon furlough; I'll allow you a man's pay for his subsistence." The Report of the Commissioners of Public Accounts in 1713—a party document, drawn up to discredit the Duke—perhaps does not much strengthen this evidence, when it describes these "irregularities" as hardly worth mentioning, "*because they are very notorious,*" and adds a list of grosser and less pardonable abuses. To be sure, this Captain's habit of quartering one's illegitimate offspring on the regimental pay, is but a copy of what took place in the higher grades of the service; what such a respectable old soldier as Lord Albemarle entreated as a favour at the hands of the Commander-in-chief; and what Marlborough

refused, not as a wrong or an abuse, but because "the Queen has lately shown so much aversion to anything of that kind, upon notice taken in Parliament of children's being commissioned in the troops, that she has given me repeated orders to the contrary."* These habits do not answer very closely to one's notions of a well-governed commonwealth.

With the exception of the last thirty months of Queen Anne's reign, Marlborough was commander-in-chief from 1702 to his death in 1722; and during ten of those twenty years had been personally employed in moulding the character of his troops, until, say the biographers, he had brought them to a wonderful pitch of Christian perfection. Yet, in the middle of July, 1719, Colonel Gardiner, for abandoning a life of notorious licentiousness, and beginning to lead the life of a Christian, was currently reported among his military acquaintances to be "stark mad;" and had to endure such a fire of raillery, "that he has several times declared, he would much rather have marched up to a battery of the enemy's cannon, than have been obliged so continually as he was to face such artillery as this." After his conversion, and during fifteen years of his life, Colonel Gardiner employed himself with the most conscientious earnestness in watching over the spiritual welfare of his soldiers; but his example is notorious as an exception, and his life has been a book of wonders and miracles ever since Dr. Doddridge gave it to the world.

Still it is hardly possible that Lediard's description can have been drawn entirely from imagination. It must, one would think, have some basis in fact. The Duke, as we know, had served under Turenne, whose Catholic army is called by his earlier biographer, almost in the very words of Lediard, "*le modèle d'une republique parfaite*," purged of libertines, cowards, and bullies. That the Duke—himself a model of decorum—endeavoured to follow this illustrious example; that he had morning and evening prayers in all fixed camps; that he had in his army public fasts upon occasion; that he tried to get rid of all the vagabonds he could not reclaim; that he actually broke two freeborn British officers for blasphemy; that he set an example of regular living and outward devotion; and that

* Despatches, vol. ii. p. 437.

by this means he did really effect a considerable improvement in the gross military habits, which under the later Stuarts succeeded the fierce but orderly fanaticism of Cromwell's troopers, seems not improbable. Even Swift, when bitterest against the Whig soldiers, admits "that in the present age armies are brought to some degree of humanity, and a more regular demeanour to each other and to the world, than in former times."* Marlborough's own despatches are full of religion; and not merely his despatches, but his private letters, and especially those to his wife. He always professed to look for success from "the particular blessing of God." He received the Sacrament before the battle of Blenheim, and said of himself, "that he believed he had prayed more that day than all the chaplains of the army."† A shrewd sarcasm on the chaplains! His personal example and exertions, therefore, were not wanting to complete a very necessary reform; and he no doubt achieved a certain success. It is true, he sometimes mentions a want of discipline in the army; ‡ but this has reference either to occasional momentary excesses, from which no troops were ever wholly free, or to the essential nature of a confederate army and the clashing authorities by which his soldiers were sometimes ruled. His despatches, while they show the utmost care in the maintenance of discipline, reveal no such vehement and indignant despair as under the most favourable circumstances breaks forth from the pen of the modern Duke. And yet Marlborough's army was not made up of militia-men and volunteers; but after "drinking and other bad practices" had almost in the beginning exhausted their recruiting influence, his soldiers were "pressed" from the class of known miscreants and debauchees.

A great part of the management of soldiers' affections and the discipline of an army consists in the well-ordering of the commissariat; and for their minute and anxious attention to this, both dukes, as their despatches amply prove, were equally remarkable. The exclamation of the Elector of Mayence, on assisting at a review after a long-

* Examiner, No. 20.

† Lediard.

‡ Despatches, vol. i. p. 198; vol. ii. pp. 454-5; vol. v. pp. 9, 18, 115.

continued march, that the troops "seemed to be all dressed for the ball," that was to be given that evening to the officers; and the surprise of Prince Eugene at their admirable appearance after this harassing duty, show that the appointments of the army were maintained in a better condition than was then usual, and that the spirit, order, and decorum of the general had been in great part infused into the lowest ranks of the service. "The army," says Mr. Knight's biographer, "had never anything meriting the name of a commissariat until Marlborough created one; no English troops had ever before been so well fed, clothed, accoutred, and quartered; no general-in-chief had ever bestowed so minute and incessant an attention to the comforts of his men; and thence it was that those men had excited the admiration of Europe by their appearance, had borne with cheerfulness the toils of the long march and their occasional and inevitable privations, and had carried, in the highest perfection, their native strength and courage into the battle and the charge." No doubt this is all quite true. Since the institution of modern armies, Marlborough was the first general-in-chief of a force, not merely in British pay, but wholly or mainly under British management. Under Charles and James the forces were small, or divided into small fractions. In William's army the main authority was Dutch, and the English officers were subordinate. But under Queen Anne, though the force was still confederate, the authority was English, and the genius of Marlborough showed itself in creating a branch of the service which had hitherto not fallen under the superintendence of a master-mind. Wellington, a century later, in not very dissimilar circumstances, had the same service to render. What he did is tolerably well known, and its results. We should like to have a full and reasonable delineation of what Marlborough did, and its results. We are not sure that the comparison would turn to his discredit.

Take one circumstance, symptomatic not merely of administrative skill as far as regards order, method, and foresight, but of that higher skill of which we have spoken—the guidance and training of men; we refer to the distribution of provisions among the troops.

The Peninsular practice is shortly stated by Wellington in his despatch, 9th June, 1812, to Dr. M'Grigor: "Their rations are invariably delivered to the soldiers daily, ex-

cept on marches; and the army would be incapable of all movement, if I were to order that the soldiers should carry no provisions. The British soldiers, on such an occasion, carry three days' bread; the Portuguese soldiers six days' bread; the French soldiers fifteen days' bread."

Colonel Harvey Jones, and the anti-French military writers, denounce this fifteen days' practice as merely an excuse for plunder. By pretending to give out fifteen (or even twenty) daily rations at once, the government was absolved from any further claim on the part of the soldiers during that period; plunder was the inevitable and expected resource for any deficiency; and the most infernal excesses were thus organized and allowed. We have not time or space to discuss the probable truth of this description of a system; but we must say that, in an army making any pretensions to discipline, we do not believe such a system to be possible. Napier gives another account of the difference between a modern English and French army in this respect. "It is worthy of consideration," he says, "that French soldiers are accustomed to carry so much bread. Other nations, especially the English, would not husband it; yet it was a practice of the ancient Romans, and it ought to be the practice of all armies. It requires a long previous discipline, and well-confirmed military habits; but without it men are only half-efficient, especially for offensive warfare."*

Does it prove the inferiority of Wellington compared with Marlborough in the power of generating military habits—or is it attributable to a general decline in the moral soundness of the nation—that while war has become more widely offensive, and armies are required to be infinitely more moveable than they were a century ago, the soldiers are now trusted with a less stock of provisions than at the earlier period, and though this trust is essential to all rapid movement, cannot safely be confided in to the same extent?

The fact at least seems certain. The ordinary distribution of bread under Marlborough was not for one day, but for four. Each loaf distributed to the soldiers was, by contract, a four-days' loaf, weighing six pounds; two loaves were for "eight days;" for which the contractor was to

receive from the troops ten stivers, the Queen being to pay the overplus.* When from insufficient supplies it was necessary, not on march, but in camp, to husband the provisions as much as possible, this was done, not by diminishing the quantity distributed, but by making it serve for a longer time. In the camp of Rousselaer (Roulers) on the 16th October, 1708, the order of the day was, that "the four days' bread to be delivered to-day, is to serve for six days, and the officer is to take care to pay the other two days in cash."† Every regiment was to receive its distribution in the same quantity, so that all might be provided up to the same day; and in time of scarcity it was thought, that "a recommendation to husband the bread as much as possible," would actually have a chance of being attended to.‡ On other occasions we are told of six days' bread; § of eight days' bread; || and even of ten days' bread, when a great "progress in the enemy's country" is to be made.¶ In Turenne's army, on extraordinary occasions, and when very rapid marches were to be made, we find mention of bread for three, and even for four days.** The wonder of Turenne's small force was the ordinary arrangement for Marlborough's greater host; and on special occasions he was able to go more than half way towards the modern French practice; and to double, and even treble, that which has been found possible by the greatest modern English general, with the most renowned of modern English armies.

Marlborough, though not exactly at the head of such a band of Christian heroes as Alison, Coxe, and Lediard would have us believe, did really wield a very tolerable machine which, though not without its faults, was not altogether "detestable" for everything but fighting, and did hold, not merely over the fears, hopes, and respects of his soldiers, but over their affections and hearts, a very considerable empire. Mother Ross does not stand alone in her

* Despatches, vol. iv. p. 697, Note.

† Despatches, vol. iv. pp. 263, 4, 5.

‡ Ibid. p. 357.

§ Despatches, vol. ii. p. 220.

|| Despatches, vol. iv. p. 91; Coxe, ii. p. 245.

¶ Despatches, vol. ii. pp. 223, 237.

** Ramsay, vol. ii. pp. 259, 338; Edit. 1749.

assertion, that he was "entirely beloved by all the forces;"* by the whole army, "not only for his courage and conduct, but equally dear to us all for his affability and humanity."† Nay, the army, by this very affection for him, was the real bulwark of the Protestant succession. When the Tories regained their power in 1710, and wished to strike at Whig Parliamentary influence, they passed the Act which, requiring a landed qualification for Members of Parliament, was designed to exclude along with Whig courtiers and merchants, military officers, almost all known for their devotion to the Duke and to the cause. The army, and the Duke's influence in it, were the standing subjects of Tory apprehension. When he fell into disgrace, (1710,) Swift accused the soldiers of "drinking damnation and confusion" to the *Tory ministry*; and of uttering in their orgies, certain doubtful words of standing "by their general;" and he tried to bribe them into changing sides by a hint that the chances of promotion were not much increased by "solemn execrations of the Ministry."‡ When peace was proclaimed in the next year (1711) at the head of every regiment by the Duke of Ormond,

* * * * *
 "awhile he stood, expecting
 Their universal shout and high applause
 To fill his ear; when, contrary, he hears
 On all sides, from innumerable tongues
A dismal universal hiss, the sound
Of public scorn; he wondered, but not long."

It was literally the scene in *Pandemonium* acted over again—"a general hiss and murmur throughout the whole camp." Instead of thanks for saving them "from having their brains knocked out," he was encountered with "the height of ingratitude." The soldiers swore, and wept, and rent their garments, and tore their hair, and cursed their new General; the officers slunk into their tents, and mourned in silence; and when they called to mind their old Commander and his great victories, "their eyes flowed with tears." When the Queen's end approached, (1714,) and the plots of Harley and St. John were to be put in execution, Swift exhorted his friends "to regulate

* p. 283.

† p. 384.

the army," and particularly the Guards, "who are most of them fitter to guard a Prince under an *High Court of Justice*, than seated on the throne."* And when, in 1718, Bishop Atterbury reported to the Jacobites abroad the hopes and perils of their cause, it was still the army, of which he gave the most sorrowful account, and found in it the one insuperable obstacle to their designs. "That one word, the Army, is a charm that lays all of them to sleep, and without another opposite army, nothing can or will be done;"† but with a sufficient military help from abroad, "the event will become easy."

We have now gone through our too diffuse notes on the military side of Marlborough's history. Its civil aspect we have purposely avoided; our object being to draw attention to the need there is of an exposition of his career, not by a civilian, however able and instructed, but by some competent military critic; an adequate professional estimate of the Duke's battles and campaigns; an intelligible picture of his mode of warfare, compared with the practice of a later period; and an impartial appreciation of his genius for war, compared or contrasted with that of Turenne, under whom he served his apprenticeship; Condé, whose greater exploits he had in part witnessed; Vendôme and Villars, whom he uniformly chastised; Eugene, who maintained with him a noble and honourable rivalry; and lastly, Wellington, with whom, from the similarity of their fortunes, he will be named to the end of time. Such a work, affording an honourable memorial of one of England's greatest military celebrities, should be the product of an English mind. Not unfairly, national, for then it would not be what it ought to be, in all countries as well as at home, the textbook of the war on which it treats; but on the other hand, not anti-national; not, as Jomini is described, "misinformed and uncandid where the British army and its commanders are concerned;" but so far English as to show a pride in the great exploits it relates, and to have a more perfect comprehension than any foreigner can have, of the political perplexities and complexities which fettered the English Generalissimo, and rendered him hardly a master of his own movements, or the author of his own campaigns.

* Some free thoughts upon the Present State of Affairs.

The last topic discussed in the preceding remarks requires a yet more minute investigation, and has a peculiar interest in our time. Coxe and Alison tell us of an army growing up under the cold shade of the aristocracy, capable of the highest achievements, and, in its morale, reaching much higher than any subsequent English army has been known to do. This representation is either true or false. In either case, the subject requires and will repay investigation. The materials of every kind ought to be thoroughly examined; and if England then had an army possessing higher moral qualities than those which adorn our present troops, the reasons for this superiority should be discovered and made known. If the fact is not so, then history ought to be purged of an untruth which reflects no credit on our present race of defenders.

One other point also deserves particular attention with reference to future wars. Can our rule of not making "war support war," ever become the law of the civilized world? Is it desirable that it should? Does any such rule actually exist beyond our very limited practice? We are inclined to answer all these questions in the negative. That the troops in a hostile country have a right to draw from it their subsistence, without paying for what they take, is too obvious to need a word of proof. That most belligerents will continue to enforce this undoubted right of war, seems also incontestable. That humanity would gain much by our transferring the expense of such wars as we may be engaged in, from the hostile populations against which we may happen to wage war, to our own citizens in the shape of a huge national debt, payable for ever, is by no means clear. Spain plundered by France—as English writers tell us—with the mixed ingenuity and remorselessness of fiends, has long since recovered that terrible devastation which the grandchildren of the plundered know only by books or by tradition. Against us, on the contrary, with our humanity and purse pride, the plunder of the French still continues; and, so to speak, has only just begun. We not merely hear and read, but feel their extortions to the present hour. That war, carried on by subsidies, and loans, and huge payments of every kind, still sucks our vitals, wastes our substance, eats into our strength, sets us at feud one with another, and prepares the materials of future revolutions. As far as money is concerned, it might have been cheaper for us—the present inhabitants

of this island—if our ancestors had personally undergone ten years of French ravage, instead of taking such pains to ravage us for ever by the hands of the fund-holder and the tax-gatherer.

Somebody must pay for war; and if our war be just, *why not the enemy now and at once, rather than our own people for ever?* What is neither feasible nor desirable, seems to us to be the abolition of compulsory contributions; what is desirable, and not, so far as we can see, unfeasible, is that contributions shall be so regulated as to *produce the least amount of mischief.* Why could not this *be done by a revival, in an improved form, of the practice described by Vattel, eliminating from it those preliminary devastations which seem wholly unnecessary and in waste?* Why not revive the practice of making Treaties of Contribution, with such preliminary stipulations as shall make mere plunder without a motive? Every thing *that softens the rigour of war, will be eagerly sought out* by every humane soldier and politician; and if England, instead of Quixotically pursuing an unprofitable phantom, would seek after an improvement more in accordance with the nature of things, she might, we think, powerfully co-operate in rendering to poor humanity a very useful and *reasonable service.*

ART. IV.—*El Buscapié*, by Miguel de Cervantes, with the illustrative notes of Don Adolfo de Castro: translated from the Spanish, with a Life of the Author, and some account of his works, by THOMASINA ROSS. London: R. Bentley, 1849.

THERE is no name in the annals of literature of which those who, however humble may be their pretensions, devote their lives to authorship, can feel more justly proud than that of Miguel de Cervantes. The brightest ornament of his class, his entire life is to them an example, *which the more closely they can resemble, the more secure* may they hope to find whatever share of fame they may possess in this world, and that which is more precious than fame, than wealth, than rank, and all earthly glory—

happiness, and for ever hereafter. Cervantes is at the same time the model of a Christian writer and a Christian gentleman.

A brave soldier in his youth, we find him in the foremost ranks of the chivalry of Christendom, uplifting the cross and trampling upon the crescent at the battle of Lepanto, and bearing from that awful conflict, not prizes nor decorations, but a maimed person, that, considering the cause in which he was wounded, was never afterwards alluded to by him but with a decorous, an honest, and a most justifiable pride. A captive at a subsequent period of his life, amongst the infidels whom he had previously defeated in war, he is never discovered repining at the sad fate that had befallen him—never, even for a moment, yielding to despair; but always employed in the exercise of that which is the only right of the slave—devising or putting into execution plans for facilitating his escape from bondage—enduring hardships for years, putting his life in peril constantly to carry those plans into execution, and when apprehended in these attempts, braving an ignominious death, and defying tortures worse than death, sooner than betray his associates and assistants. And then, when restored to freedom and his native land, when his only resources were his talents, his pen, and his honest industry, we behold the soldier and the author employing his genius upon works calculated to promote the innocent amusement combined with the moral improvement of his countrymen. With a full knowledge of life, with high poetic gifts, with poverty in his humble household, and with the complete consciousness that he could at once make for himself a name and a fortune as a personal satirist—that he might buy the silence of those who feared him, and win the patronage of those who then contemned or neglected him, still he preferred penury to what he justly styled such “an infamous remuneration” for his talents.

“Nunca volo la humilde pluma mia

Por la region satirica : baxeza

Que á infames premios y desgracias guia.”

Compare this trait in the life of Cervantes with that of an English anti-catholic author lately deceased—of one, who returned with a broken fortune to his own country; and who, for the purpose of maintaining himself in luxury,

and to gratify the base passions of a vile king, and to be received at the tables of the great and the noble, a welcome parasite—deliberately, and of malice aforethought, set himself down in the heart of London, a professional satirist; and established a paper for the purpose of circulating against innocent and unoffending females, the most horrible imputations, the most atrocious calumnies, or the most degrading insinuations; and yet, who has found in a clergyman of the Established church a biographer and a panegyrist!

Cervantes was no such man as this. He took upon himself the support of his destitute sister-in-law and niece. He worked hard for them as an author, and when he found that his pen could not by honourable means procure them—his daughter and himself—a sufficient subsistence, he looked out for employment—some kind of occupation or business—and such as persons of humble capacity might discharge. There was, and we wish every literary man in the British Empire would bear the fact in remembrance, no “pride of authorship” in the author of *Don Quixote*, of the *Galatea*, *Persiles y Sigismunda*, *Viage del Parnaso*, *Novelas exemplares*; but there was the pride of a high-spirited, honourable, and good man, who prefers *any employment*, however obscure or humble it may appear, that secures to him an independent existence by his honest industry. Thus it was, that the greatest of authors in modern times became an assistant commissary, and an active, diligent, hard-working mercantile agent—the latter, a position in which it is said by his Spanish biographer, his talents and untiring industry were found to be very available—“agente de negocios, para cuya expedicion tanto le ayudaba su industria é ingenio, fecundo en recursos.”*

For a long period of his life we find the author of *Don Quixote* thus struggling—an humble commissary, and a diligent agent—buying provisions, inspecting invoices, and going through that species of drudgery the most unsuitable, we might suppose, to a first rate novelist, and the most repulsive to a true poet; but still performed, because, as an honest man, Cervantes preferred the bread he earned by his independent toil to the richest luxuries he

* Pellicer, Vida de Miguel de Cervantes, vol i. p. lxxxii.

might have procured by the prostitution of his talents. We perceive, too, in the life of this glorious and great man, that these efforts were at one time attended with so little success, that he felt it necessary to seek out for some other mode of subsistence, and considering his talents, his sufferings in the war of Christians against infidels, and his services to his country, he felt that he was justified in petitioning the Spanish crown for one of the many appointments in its gift in the *South American colonies*. Cervantes did not ask for a pension, to which his wound might have justly entitled him, nor for any sinecure office which the crown might, with honour to itself, have conferred upon him; but "any appointment" of which he might be considered worthy, "his only desire being to serve his king, as he had in the earlier years of his life, and as his ancestors had before him." What, in point of fact, he wished, was something to secure to him the means of an independent livelihood, even though in seeking for it, he should have to "embrace the course of which many unfortunate men in that city (Seville) have availed themselves; namely, to proceed to South America, that last refuge and asylum of despairing Spaniards." (*Se acogia al remedio à que otros muchos perdidos en aquella ciudad (Sevilla) se acogen, que es el al pasarse a las Indias, refugio y amparo de los desesperados de Espana.*)*

The application of Cervantes was disregarded. The appointment that was refused to the author of *Don Quixote*, was not improbably bestowed upon some low, mean, and worthless individual, whose only merit in the eyes of the monarch might be, that he had been recommended to the favour of the crown by some grandee at court, and was a poor relation, or the poor relation of some sycophant. Spain is not the only country that is governed by grandees, nor Cervantes the only literary man who has found his

* Miss Ross—*Life of Cervantes*, pp. 67, 68. Cervantes, in his *Novela del Zeloso Estremeno*, refers to the *South American Colonies* with the expressions above quoted, and describes his own condition in depicting that of his hero, when he says that want of money and of many friends, compelled him to go thither. "Viendose pues tan falto de dineros, y aun no con muchos amigos se acogio al remedio, a que otros muchos perdidos en aquella ciudad se acogen, que es el passarse a las Indias, refugio y amparo de los desesperados de Espana."—*Novela's Exemplares*, p. 308.

services neglected, and his claims disregarded, whilst patronage has been bestowed upon the presumptuous, and office conferred upon skillful flatterers.

Michael de Cervantes had, however, not only an honest, but a brave heart—one that was not to be shaken from its integrity, nor cast down by fear, whether he was immured in a dark cell in Algiers, or sought to shake off the chains of poverty that gathered tighter and tighter around him in his little obscure counting-house in Seville.

He was an industrious man, a man of genius, and a Christian; he entitled himself to success by labouring for it, and his hope and faith were at length rewarded; for he won it—won what neither kings and courtiers could give to, nor take away from him—fame!—fame in its purest form—the fame of having written that which never can grow old—the fame of having composed a work which no one can read in its true spirit without being a wiser and a better man. Such a fame as that of Cervantes is a fame for all eternity, for it is attained, to use his own expression, “without injury to the body, and without peril to the soul.” (*Sin dano del alma ni del cuerpo.*)

We join in the conviction expressed by Miss Ross in her valuable biographical sketch of Cervantes, that the publication of the second part of *Don Quixote*, conjoined with the liberality of the Count de Lemos, and the Archbishop of Toledo, rendered the latter years of Cervantes “in some degree exempt from the struggles which at various times embittered the earlier period of his life.”*

Cervantes was not merely a wise, a good, and a great man in a worldly point of view, but he was a man worthy of veneration for his unceasing piety and his constant, unpretending devout practices. His talents as a poet were employed in the year 1615, in the composition of stanzas in honour of the beatification of the illustrious Spanish saint, Teresa.† He was also a member of the confraternity of St. Francis, and we have little doubt, but the author of *Don Quixote* might, in the latter years of his life, have been seen in the churches, or in the streets, humbly telling the beads of his Rosary, and bearing, as was not at variance with the custom of the time, but as

* Miss Ross, *Life of Cervantes*, p. 94.

† Pellicer, *Vida de M. de Cervantes*, vol. i. pp. 188, 189.

the noblest decoration that man could bear wherever he went, the colour and costume of the third order of St. Francis.*

The death scene of Cervantes was not unbecoming in a pious Christian and a grateful author. It has often been told, but never better nor more gracefully than by Miss Ross, from whom we now quote it.

"On the eighteenth of April, 1616, Cervantes received extreme unction, and on the day following he finished the dedicatory preface to *Persiles*. When about to depart on the long journey of death, his memory reverted to some old Spanish coplas, which commence with the words, *Puesto ya el pié en el estribo*, (with one foot already in the stirrup.) To these quaint old lines he playfully alludes in the dedication of his last work, where, addressing the Count de Lemos, he observes:—'These old coplas, so popular in their day, may perhaps come opportunely into this epistle, which I might commence almost in the same words, saying—

"Puesto ya el pié en el estribo,
Con las ansias de la muerte,
Gran Senor, esta te escribo." †

Yesterday they gave me the extreme unction, and to-day I write this." ‡

Any new fact that may tend to illustrate the life or literary career of an author like Cervantes cannot but be most welcome to the public. Every thing, directly or indirectly connected with him is of interest; and Miss Thomasina Ross, in translating the recently discovered work, attributed to Cervantes—"*El Buscapié*"—has certainly conferred upon English literature an advantage, which all connected with that literature ought willingly and gratefully to acknowledge. We do so not unwillingly,

* Thus is it said of an illustrious nobleman and great patron of literature, "Recibió el hábito de la Tercera Orden, y le traxo descubierto en vida, y en muerte, honrandole y honrandose tanto con el, que desde las cintas de los zapatos hasta el sombrero, y todo el vestido exterior y interior era del color de la orden." Regla, ordenaciones y gobierno de la Tercera Orden, fol. 150, quoted by Pellicer, Vida de Miguel de Cervantes, vol. i. pp. cxcii, cxciii.

† "With one foot already in the stirrup, and in the anguish of death, noble Senor, I write to you."

‡ Miss Ross, Life of Cervantes, pp. 96, 97.

although we regret to perceive from a note to the present work (pp. 220-232) that Miss Ross entertains what we conceive to be not only very strong but very unjust prejudices against our religion, which is the religion of Spain. We do so, too, the more readily, because we find an attempt made to disparage the authenticity of the *Buscapé* in a weekly literary journal—of which it can with truth be said, that its judgment never can be relied upon, and justice must not be expected from it for any work, or any author who may chance to offend the capricious prejudices of a sect, or the envious partialities of a clique.

The *Buscapé* is a work supposed to have been written by De Cervantes, in defence of *Don Quixote*, to vindicate it from the unjust criticisms with which it had been assailed, and to show that it was worthy especially of being perused by the wise and the learned. *Don Quixote* was from the first moment it issued from the press universally read, but it was not as universally understood. Even to the present day, it may be said, its fineness, its sweetness, and its delicacy are "*caviare to the multitude*." They are amused with its incidents, but the noble sentiments, the lofty aspirations, the generous sympathies, the philosophy, the philanthropy, and the loving genuine chivalry of its hero, are all lost upon them. The boy may be amused with *Don Quixote*; but the real and perfect pleasure to be found in its perusal, can only be enjoyed by the man, and by none so intensely as by the man who can read the book in the language in which it was originally written. Assuredly, it is not in the dry and frigid, although close translation of Jervis, nor in the vulgar, rollicking version of Smollett, that we are to seek for an adequate idea of *Don Quixote's* panegyric upon the golden age of the world, its disinterestedness, its abstinence, its simplicity, and its virtues.* *Don Quixote* is not merely that for which

* What intelligent reader of Spanish ever yet contented himself with a single perusal of the noble apostrophe commencing:

"Dichosa edad, y siglos dichosos aquellos á quien los antiguos pusieron nombre de dorados, y no porque en ellos el oro, que en esta nuestra edad de hierro tanto se estima, se alcanzase en aquella venturosa sin fatiga alguna; sino porque entonces los que en ella vivian, ignoraban estas dos palabras de tuyo y mio! Eran en aquella santa edad todas las cosas comunes: á nadie le era

most men now admire it—an amusing book, full of rich and comical incidents; but it is a great, a good, and an instructive book; and still requires a *Buscapié* to disclose its worth, and make plain its value.

When *Don Quixote* was first published, it is observed by Miss Ross in her 'Life of Cervantes':—

"Some individuals of the educated class refrained from reading it, under the supposition that it was merely a narrative of romantic chivalrous adventure. Others, again, and these were the unlearned, perused the book, and were pleased with it, though without perceiving the delicate vein of Satire which constitutes its very essence and spirit. Finding that his book was read by persons who did not understand it, and not read by some who were capable of comprehending it, Cervantes devised a plan for explaining its real nature and purpose, and for rendering it an object of interest to those who had regarded it with indifference. This plan he carried out in a very effective manner in the manuscript opuscle which forms the principal subject of this volume. Alluding to *El Buscapié*, Navarette, the author's able Spanish biographer, styles it *una obra anonima, pero ingeniosa y discreta*."*

This then, is the work which has been recently discovered, and of it the following account is given by Miss Ross.

"The title *Buscapié* seems to have been suggested by one of those quaint conceits common to the Spanish writers of the sixteenth century. The word etymologically considered, is compounded of *busca* (seek; from the verb *buscar* to seek,) and *pié* (foot); and it signifies in the Spanish language a squib or cracker, which, being thrown down in the streets by boys and mischievous persons, rolls about and gets between the feet of passers-by. Towards the close

necesario para alcanzar su ordinario sustento tomar otro trabajo, que alzar la mano y alcanzarle de las robustas encinas, que liberalmente les estaban convidando con su dulce y sazonado fruto. Las claras fuentes y corrientes rios en magnífica abundancia sabrosas y transparentes aguas les ofrecian."—*Don Quixote de la Mancha*, Parte I. c. xi. Vol. i. p. iii. (Pellicer's Edition.)

In all this there is not merely exquisite beauty, but there is, in our estimation, great pathos. These noble ideas, and this glorious language, are ascribed to an individual whose mind is on one point affected with madness. It is not possible to think of this without the feelings being affected, and our sympathies excited in favour of the poor knight-errant.

* Miss Ross, *Life of Cervantes*, pp. 78, 79.

of the work itself, Cervantes thus explains his reason for selecting this title. 'I call this little book *Buscapié*,' he says, 'to show to those who seek the foot with which the ingenious Knight of La Mancha limps, that he does not limp with either, but that he goes firmly and steadily on both, and is ready to challenge the grumbling critics who buzz about like wasps.'

"Every one acquainted with Spanish literature has regretted the disappearance and supposed total loss of this little work, which was known to have been written by Cervantes after the publication of the First Part of *Don Quixote*. Whether or not this production ever was submitted to the press by its author is exceedingly doubtful; but, be that as it may, no printed copy of it has been extant for the space of two centuries. Though manuscript copies were supposed to exist among the hidden treasures of the Biblioteca Real in Madrid, or in the unexplored recesses of Simancas, yet the *Buscapié* has always been alluded to by writers on Spanish literature as a thing inaccessible and known only by tradition. Great interest was consequently excited a short time ago, by the announcement that a copy of the *Buscapié* had been discovered in Cadiz. It was found among some old books and manuscripts, sold by auction, previously to which they had been the property of an advocate named Don Pascual de Gándara, who resided in the neighbouring town of San Fernando. Some writers on Spanish literature have hazarded the conjecture that the *Buscapié* was a sort of key to *Don Quixote*, and that in it were indicated, if not named, the persons whom Cervantes is supposed to have satirized in his celebrated romance.* But such is not the fact. The *Buscapié* is a vindication of *Don Quixote* against the unjust critical censure with which that work was assailed on the appearance of its First Part, which was published in 1604. In the same year there is reason to believe that Cervantes wrote the *Buscapié*. The manuscript copy of this little work, recently discovered in Cadiz, is in the scriptory character commonly in use about the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth centuries. On the title page it is styled:—

"El muy donoso Librillo llamado
Buscapié
Donde, demas de su mucho y excelente
Dotrina, van declaradas
Todas Aquellas Cosas Escondidas y no
Declaradas en el Ingenioso Hidalgo

* "It has been conjectured, though without any satisfactory ground, that Cervantes wrote his *Don Quixote* as a satire upon the Emperor Charles V. and the Duke de Lerma, the favourite of Philip III."

Don Quijote de la Mancha
Que compuso
un tal de Cervantes Saavedra.*

"Lower down, and in the same hand-writing, are these words:—

"Copiose de otra copia el ano de 1606 en Madrid 27 de Ebrero ano dicho. Para el Senor Agustin de Argota, hijo del muy noble senor (que sancta gloria haya) Gonzalo Zatieco de Molina, un caballero de Sevilla."†

"Next are written the following words in the Portuguese language, and in characters, the apparent date of which may be assigned to the beginning of the eighteenth century:—

"Da Livreria do Senhor Duque de Lafões.‡

"How this manuscript found its way to Portugal, and came back to Spain, there is no evidence to show. It was, however, purchased in Cadiz, (at the sale of the books and manuscripts of the Advocate Gándaro,) by its present possessor, Don Adolfo de Castro, to whom literature is now indebted for its appearance in a printed form, accompanied by some valuable and interesting bibliographic notes.

"In the following English version of the *Buscapié*, care has been taken to adhere with all possible fidelity to the spirit of the original; some occasional redundancy of expression has been compressed, and here and there passages have been abridged, which, if literally rendered, would, in our language, appear prolix and tedious."—Preface, p. 3—10.

If the book of which Miss Ross has given a translation were really written by Cervantes, we cannot conceive any literary curiosity of greater value than this must be to an admirer of Don Quixote—and who is not an admirer of that immortal work? There are many probabilities in favour of the authenticity of *El Buscapié*. First of all, it was consistent with the character of Cervantes to refer to

* "The very pleasant little book called *Buscapié*, in which, besides its excellent doctrine, are unfolded all those things which are hidden, and not declared in the History of the ingenious Knight, Don Quixote de la Mancha, written by one De Cervantes Saavedra."

† "This was copied from another copy in the year 1606, in Madrid, 27th of February of the same year, by the Senor Augustin de Argota, son of the most noble Senor, (now in glory,) Gonzalo Zatieco de Molina, a gentleman of Seville."

‡ "From the library of the Duke de Lafões."

his own compositions, and in the honest sincerity and simplicity of his heart, to express candidly his approbation of them. Thus, in alluding to his comedies he says, "if they were not my own, I should declare that they merit all the praise they have obtained," whilst the *Confusa* (a comedy now lost,) he declares it to be "good among the best," (buena entre las mejoras.) In his preface to the *Novelas Exemplares*, he boasts, and with perfect justice, that he is the first who has composed novels in the Spanish language, (yo Soy el primero que he novelado en lengua Castellana,) and of a sonnet composed by him upon the obsequies of Philip II, he honestly declares in *Viage del Parnaso*, cap. 4. that it was the finest thing he ever wrote.

Yo el soneto compuse, que así empieza

(Por honra principal de mis escritos :)

Voto á Dios, que me espanta esta grandeza.*

The author, who thus referred to himself, may, we can readily suppose, be one who, if he found the object of his book misinterpreted, would feel little hesitation in vindicating its value, and in demonstrating its worth in a pamphlet. There is the tradition that such a work was written by Cervantes. There is no suggestion that any such book was written by any author the contemporary of Cervantes; there is the internal evidence from the first page to the last, that it was written when *Don Quixote* was a new book to the public—and last, and most important of all, there is in the descriptions, the style, and the arguments, the strong resemblance to Cervantes, as an author.

Much of all these might have been lost, if not wholly obscured, had the work fallen into the hands of a less able, accomplished and spirited translator than Miss Ross. The following extract will prove her competency to do justice to the original, and will, we trust, be an inducement to the reader to procure the book itself.

* Amongst the Sonnets composed by Cervantes, was one upon the sacking of Cadiz by the English, under Queen Elizabeth's Earl of Essex, in the year 1596. The manner in which the queen's favourite conducted himself on this occasion, is told by Cervantes in three lines :

Quando lleva robada la riqueza
De Cadiz el Britano, y profanados
Dexa templos y altares consagrados.

"It happened, once on a time, that being on my way to Toledo, just as I was approaching the Toledana Bridge, I descried advancing towards me a student mounted on a most villainous-looking nag. The poor animal was blind of one eye, and not much better than blind of the other; neither was he very sound in the legs, if I might judge from the numerous reverences he made as he wearily moved onward. The student gravely saluted me, and I with all due courtesy returned his greeting. He spurred his poor nag with the intention of advancing more expeditiously, but the miserable animal was so worn out by old age and hard usage, that it was piteous even to behold him.

"The rider whipped his horse, but the horse, heedless of the blows, showed no disposition to quicken his pace. He turned a deaf ear to all the commands of his master, who, in truth, might as well have shouted down into the depths of the well of Airon, or up to the summit of Mount Cabra.

"This contest between horse and rider had proceeded for some time, to my no small diversion, when, at length, the descendant of Babieca,* as though suddenly roused by the severe treatment to which he was subjected, seemed determined not to proceed another foot. In proportion as he was urged to advance, he appeared resolved to stand stock still, or, rather, he showed more disposition to go backward than forward.

"Thereupon the rider flew into a furious rage, and began belabouring the unfortunate horse without mercy, though, as it proved this time, not without effect. Anticipating a smart stroke of the whip, which the upraised arm of his master was preparing to inflict, the animal began to kick and plunge, and after two or three curvets, both horse and rider came to the ground.

"I, seeing this mishap, pressed forward my mule, which, by the bye, was anything but swift footed. Having reached the spot where the unlucky student lay rolling in the dust, and uttering a torrent of imprecations, I quickly dismounted, saying—'Compose yourself, senor, and let me assist you to rise. These accidents must be expected by persons who journey on the backs of such crazy animals.'

"'Crazy animals!' said he, 'yours appears crazy enough; but I have only to thank the high spirit and mettle of mine for bringing me to this strait!'

"Restraining my laughter as I best could, and with as grave a face as I was able to put on, I helped the fallen horseman to rise, which was no easy matter, for he appeared to be much hurt. Having got him upon his feet, I beheld before me the strangest figure in the world. He was short of stature, and on his shoulders there was a graceful hump, which might be likened to an *estram-*

* "Babieca was the name of the Cid's favourite horse."

bote,* tacked to a sonnet, and which brought to my recollection the stanzas in praise of hunchbacks indited by the ingenious Licentiate Tamariz. His legs were curved like two slices of melon, and his feet were encased in shoes, twelve inches long; and perhaps, without incurring any mistake, I might assign to them even greater magnitude.

"The student raised his hands to his head, as if to assure himself that his pericranium had sustained no fracture. Feeling the effects of his fall, he turned to me, and, in a faint and languid tone of voice, said, that since I was a doctor (which he must have conjectured from seeing that I rode on a mule,)[†] he begged I would tell him of some remedy to cure his aching bones.

"I returned for answer, that I was not a doctor, but that even if I were as well skilled in the knowledge of medicine as Juan de Villalobos, of the bygone time, or as Nicolo Monardes, of the time present, I could prescribe for him no better physic than rest and sleep; and I added, that as noontide was advancing, the best cure for his aching bones would be to recline for a while beneath the shade of some trees which grew by the road side. There I proposed we should seek shelter against Apollo's scorching rays, until, less oppressed by heat and weariness, we might each pursue our course.

" 'This is strange,' resumed the student in the same doleful tone in which he had before spoken. 'Who could have imagined that by reason of the vicious temper of that unruly beast, the whole body of a bachelor of Salamanca should be thus bruised from head to foot! Mark me! I say of Salamanca, not of Alcala, where none but poor miserable fellows graduate; but by so doing they lose all the privileges and immunities enjoyed by Spanish hidalgos at Salamanca. Alas! what a disaster has befallen me. They told me at the inn that I should find this horse restive and unruly. Nevertheless, he is a fine animal. His smooth sleek skin denotes his high breeding. How finely shaped are his limbs, how black and well rounded his hoofs, and so hollow and dry underneath! His pasterns are short, neither too high nor too low; thereby indicating strength. His fore-legs are sinewy, and his shins short and well formed; the knees firm, smooth, and large. How full and fleshy are his hind quarters, and how round and expanded his chest. His nostrils are so wide and distended, that one can discern the ruddy tint within them. His mouth is large, and the dilated veins are visible in every part of his fine head.'[‡]

* "The old Spanish poets occasionally lengthened their sonnets by affixing to them a few additional lines. The lines so added were called the *estrambote*."

† "In the time of Cervantes the Spanish doctors used always to ride on mules when they went to visit their patients."

‡ "The delusion of the student, in respect to the merits of his

"Perceiving that my friend the bachelor was preparing to extend still further the catalogue of excellent qualities which were neither possessed by his horse, nor by any of his horse's race, I cut the matter short by saying very composedly, 'Pardon me, senor, if I cannot deservy in your horse any of the beauties and merits which are so apparent to you. The limbs which you admire, appear to me very ill formed; the sleek skin you extol to the skies, is covered with marks and cuts; and as to his full black eyes, I wish I may lose my own eyes if I see anything in them but the overflowing of the vicious humours inherent in the nature of the miserable beast.'

"To these remarks, which were taken in no ill part, my interlocutor rejoined with an air of doubt and misgiving,—'Well, probably it may be as you say, senor, and not as I have fancied; but still you must admit, that though I may be under a mistake, I have advanced nothing at variance with reason; and if I think I perceive what you cannot discern, my error may be occasioned by short-sightedness, a complaint from which I have suffered from my childhood, and which, being increased by much reading and no little writing, now afflicts me severely. You must know, senor, that on my departure from the inn, I had with me a very handsome pair of spectacles, but this mischievous animal, instigated, no doubt, by some demon that possesses him, made five or six capers, (I will not be certain about the precise number,) but by one of them I was thrown into the river, from whence I escaped with a good ducking and the loss of my spectacles.'

"So saying, the poor fellow heaved a sigh, which seemed to come from his inmost soul; then, after a brief pause, he said,—'But without further delay, let us withdraw from the burning sunshine, to the cool shade of those broad spreading trees. There I may at least find a truce to the miseries which have this day beset me. We will tie the horse and mule to the trunks of the trees, and let them for a while feast on the grass which, in these parts, affords plentiful pasture for flocks and herds.'

horse, would seem intended to have some reference to the hallucinations and mistakes of the Knight of La Mancha. It may be mentioned, that minute descriptions of animals, such as that here given above, are of frequent occurrence in the works of Spanish writers, especially the poets. Lope de Vega, in one of his comedies, describes in detail a fish caught in the net of a fisherman on the bank of the Guadalquivir. Another beautiful specimen of this kind of animal painting is given by Antonio Mira Amescua, in his *Acteon i Diana*: the subject is a pack of hounds weary with the chase. Villaviciosa, in his *Mosquea*, portrays with eloquent poetic colouring the death of a fly; and there is a celebrated description of a horse by Pablo de Céspedes."

“‘Be it so,’ said I, ‘and since fate ordains that I am to have the happiness of enjoying your company, here we will tarry until the ardour of Phœbus shall be tempered by the cool breezes of the coming evening.’

“‘I have,’ pursued the bachelor, ‘brought with me a couple of books wherewith to divert the weary hours of travelling. Both of them contain pleasant entertainment. The one consists of spiritual poetry, better than that of Cepeda.* The other is a book of plain prose, and is written with no great judgment or skill. Now had it so happened that instead of going from Madrid to Toledo, we had been journeying from Toledo to Madrid, I could have shewn you two excellent books, which have been sent to me as a present from Senor Arcediano. These books are full of knowledge, and they treat of so many things that are and may be in the world, that with their help, a man may, without much trouble, become wonderfully wise.’

“Having reached the umbrageous spot, where we proposed to rest, we tied up the horse and mule, and seated ourselves on mother-earth. My companion then opened a leathern bag, which contained the books he had spoken of. The first he drew forth had for its title, *Versos espirituales para le conversion del pecador y para el menosprecio del mundo*.†.....

“‘But,’ pursued he, closing the volume of Ezinas, and drawing forth the other book from his leathern bag, ‘here now is a work which, in my judgment, is not worth two *ardites*.‡ It is full of fooleries and absurdities;—a tissue of extravagant improbabilities:—in short, one of those works which have an injurious effect on the public taste.’

“So saying, he turned over a few leaves of the book, and I, glancing my eye upon it, spied on one of the pages, the words:—*el ingenioso hidalgo*. For a moment I felt astounded, and like one who, by a sudden surprise, is deprived of the power of utterance; but soon recovering my presence of mind, I said:—

“‘Pardon me, senor, this book which you declare to be full of absurdity and nonsense, is really very diverting; and instead of being injurious in its tendency, is perfectly harmless. It is a pleasant relation of some very amusing adventures, and its author deserves to be commended for having hit upon such a device for banishing from the republic of letters, the absurd books of knight-errantry, with their affected sentiment and bombastic phraseology.

* “Cervantes here alludes to a little work entitled, *Conserva Espiritual*, by Joaquin Romero de Cepeda.”

† “Spiritual verses for the conversion of the Sinner, and for shewing the worthlessness of the world.”

‡ “The *ardite* is a small Spanish coin, of about the value of a farthing.”

Moreover, the author of this book is bowed down by misfortunes more than by years; and though he looks forward with hope to the reward that may possibly hereafter crown his labours, yet he is nevertheless disheartened to see the world so pleased with folly and falsehood, and to witness the annoyances and hindrances thrown in the way of talent. In courts and in palaces, and among the great and the high-born, it has become the fashion to disesteem men who follow the noble profession of letters; and no arguments that can be advanced against this misjudgment, are strong enough to remove it. The consequence is, that when by chance an author of talent gains any influence by his writings, he is speedily cried down, and his life becomes a course of vexation and disappointment.'"—p. 99-114.

If this be not Cervantes, it is at least so like him, as to be worthy of perusal. The sole merit of the volume now before us, does not consist in the translation of *El Buscapié*. Miss Ross has prefaced it with the best and most accurate account of the Life of Cervantes that we have met with in the English language, and she has illustrated *El Buscapié* with notes which are full of interest and instruction, and that tend to show how deeply and how thoroughly she has studied the literature, and that which is the best key to the literature of every nation—the manners, the customs, and the peculiarities of its people.

ART. V.—1. *Poems*. By RALPH WALDO EMERSON. London: Chapman, 1847.

2.—*Essays*. By R. W. EMERSON. London: Chapman, 1846.

3.—*Nature, an Essay, and Lectures on the Times*. By R. W. EMERSON. London: Clarke.

4.—*Orations, Lectures, and Addresses*. By R. W. EMERSON. London: Clarke.

5.—*Essays*. By R. W. EMERSON. London: Clarke.

THAT the character of Ralph Waldo Emerson, and the nature and tendency of his works, are subjects worthy of a good deal of attention, no one who has watched the

course of modern literature will be disposed to deny. It is no exaggeration to say, that, from his humble home "in Concord, nigh Monadnoc tall," he has exercised as much influence as any other literary man of the day. Of him, pre-eminently, it may be said, that he has swayed the thinkers of a certain class, both of his own country and of ours. He has calmed men into meditation, and spurred them to action. He has divided all who study into his friends and foes; and every one who reads has felt the influence of his vigorous individuality. We find him re-written in serials, re-spoken in debates, fricassèed in newspapers, and pilfered in publications of all sorts. More than this, he has gradually formed around him a school, whose disciples, if not many in number, are ardent in propagandism, and may be found in a good many of the libraries and studies of Europe and America. It will not be useless or uninteresting to question this new power—to estimate the influence of this star, which, whether we will or not, is rising into our firmament.

It is sad to say that our view must necessarily be a gloomy one—that our questioning will meet no satisfactory reply—that our horoscope detects, in its most favourable interpretation, no "blissful agencie or smiling symbol of benigntie."

If religion be the greatest and widest of human considerations, religious influence is the most important circumstance that can be predicated of any particular fact, and is the first thing to be considered, and the chief thing to be remembered in estimating the character of any teacher or system. It is the primary test of just criticism. And when, as in the present case, the teacher and system are in themselves professedly and immediately religious, and religious in their relations, it is plain that this rule is confirmed by another equally plain, that things must be judged with reference to their own aim, and according to their own standard. Nevertheless we do not remember any notice of Emerson, in which this consideration has held its proper place. We can readily point to some in which it has been avowedly set aside. Carlyle himself, whose habit would lead him so differently, in performing the part of literary sponsor to his friend, has the boldness, or the meanness, to write (Preface, Essays, 1st series, p. x.) that although "flickering like bright, bodiless northern streamers, notions and half-notions of a Metaphysic, Theologic, and Theosophic kind, are not wanting in those

Essays," yet he "will not advise the British Public to trouble itself much about that, still less to take offence at it." He complacently assures us, that "*ists* and *isms* are rather growing a nuisance," and declares dogmatically, that whether "this Emerson" be "a Pantheist, or what kind of *Theist* or *Ist* he may be, had much better remained undecided." It is manifest that this kind of blinking of the chief fact is not only mischievous but puerile. Emerson is certainly one whose tendency as regards religion should be considered: and the more particularly because there is scarce a writer of his age whose relations to religion and religious belief, are stronger, nearer, or plainer. Like all subtle thinkers, his first thoughts are of the first facts, and all his thoughts are moulded, more or less, by his conception of these. Bred to theology, the ordained minister of an old belief, the acknowledged teacher of a new one, almost every thing his pen has traced or his tongue uttered, has, to a certain extent, a theological tendency. To omit notice of *that*, would be to imitate the artist who assured his Majesty of England he could not spare room for his face,—his bag wig was so fine and so extraordinary.

Nevertheless of the precise theology which Emerson holds, we can give no definite description. And for this simple reason, that it has received from him no adequate published exposition. We can only state first, what it is *not*, and then the great salient feature of what it *is*. Primarily then, and chiefly, it is not—*true*. Herein, in the certainty with which we can affirm this, lies the Catholic's advantage over most of those who have hitherto written of Emerson; for we have a standard which is fixed, and a test which cannot deceive. Not with presumption, or with pride—rather with trembling awe and burning shame—should we remember, that our faith sets us above his genius: that a child from our schools is able to pronounce, whatever else he may be, prophet, priest, or true preacher, he is none. This we know, not as a matter of opinion, but of fact. It is as certain as any religious truth for which we would die, because it rests on it, or truth as ancient. Hence we can unhesitatingly declare that his doctrine is *not* "worthy all acceptance," or of any. Hence we can only smile when the servile "free-thinkers" of his own country hail him as a second and a greater Moses, and watch his words as the mystic

exposition of "the highest truth," and the rich seed of "a purer and fairer Christianity;" or when the whimsical "Esoterics" and "Exoterics" of Europe wrangle about the precise signification of his "Revelations," and write elaborately on the "vestricity of the system" which he propounds. To those who have flung themselves, or whom circumstances have flung, with him, upon the wild sea of speculation, without true compass, or clear view of the stars, to drift on as tide and wind may will, ignorant of whence they came and whither they are bound, now upborne brightly upon the wave of hope, now darkling in the trough of despondency, it is indeed little wonder that he should seem worthy hearing and following, for he floats courageously, full of confidence, and his voice, though it answer no stern questions, is yet strong, cheery, and candid: but to us—to us who look out from the high ark of Faith upon that surging sea and those hapless mariners, he can only appear the sturdiest of the weak and the boldest of the blind; his words sound like mocking cries, his "revelations" are but shallow guesses, his broadest path is but faint and ill-defined, and his stoutest efforts weak and aimless.

Historically, his belief is characterised by the circumstance that it is a belief, not a mere negation. Emerson affirms as well as denies, and preaches as well as criticises. Determined on destruction, he is likewise resolute in construction. He is one of

"Those who will not to any guide submit,
Nor find one creed to their conceptions fit,"

for the very adequate reason, that he is resolved to be himself a "guide," and to frame from his own "conceptions," an enduring "creed." We have said we cannot enter into the details of his belief. Nor need we, even though we could. For our purpose it will be sufficient to indicate in his own words its first and most active principle.

"The Supreme Critic on all the errors of the Past," he writes, "and the only prophet of that which must be, is that great Nature in which we rest, as the earth lies in the soft arms of the atmosphere: that Unity, that Oversoul within which every man's particular being is contained and made one with all other: that common heart of which all sincere conversation is the worship, to which all right action is submission: that overpowering reality which confutes our tricks and talents, and constrains every one to pass for

what he is, and to speak from his character and not from his tongue: and which evermore tends and aims to pass into our thought and hand, and become wisdom, and virtue, and power, and beauty. We live in succession, in division, in parts, in particles. Meantime, within man is the soul of the whole: the wise silence: the universal beauty, to which every part and particle is equally related: the eternal ONE. And this deep power in which we exist, and whose beatitude is all accessible to us, is not only self-sufficing and perfect in every hour, but the act of seeing and the thing seen, the seer and the spectacle, the subject and the object, are one. We see the world piece by piece, as the sun, the moon, the animal, the tree: but the whole, of which these are the shining parts, is the soul. It is only by the vision of that wisdom that the horoscope of the ages can be read, and it is only by falling back on our better thoughts, by yielding to the spirit of prophecy which is innate in every man, that we can know what it saith. * * *

The inquiry leads us to that source, at once the essence of genius, the essence of virtue, and the essence of life, which we call Spontaneity, or Instinct. We denote this primary wisdom, Intuition, whilst all later teachings are tuitions. In that deep force, the last fact, behind which analysis cannot go, all things find their common origin, &c., &c."—*Essays*, pp. 270, 65. First Series.

The theory, here so obscurely enunciated, is the key to every thing Emerson has said or written. Upon this rises, like the sand-tower of the myth, the whole fabric of his "system." Of all his speculations it is the grand feature, every where visible, like the front of Vulcan beneath his protean masks. It is his prime "Revelation" and "Doctrine." It has more thorough possession of him than any single abstract idea over any other acute literary man we can name. Inspired by it he lives and speaks, meditates and writes, dreams and lectures, preaches and prophesies, is alternately eremite and orator, and has erected a literary power which is not likely to decay with this generation.

An error in Religion and a blunder in philosophy, it has been his "evil thought." It has plunged him into errors and blunders on every side and of all varieties. It has spoiled one of the subtlest thinkers of his day, into the wildest heretic and the poorest trifler. In religion it has taught him to despise Christianity. It bids him reject holy revelation, sneer at tradition, and acknowledge no binding force in ancient forms. It calls on him to frame his own laws, and liberties, and worship. It tells him that thought is not only absolutely free, but, when invo-

luntary, absolutely sacred. It assures him that in himself is the fountain of truth, the rule of morality, the surety of success, and the guide of life. It enables him to take an "enlarged" view of history, which turns miracles into myths, and the Saviour of the world into "an especially good man." It imparts to him that wild audacity which so often classes together things human and divine, things horrible and holy, Jesus and Plato, Augustine and Arius, Paul and Swedenborg, the Apostles and the Shakers. It has raised him to a pinnacle of self-conceit, above any guide or any system, and has formed him to "dwell in a worship which makes the sanctities of Christianity look parvenues and popular."* Connected in unholy alliance with his genius, it has made his influence, in a religious point of view, a dangerous snare and a stern mischief. Promulgating doctrines like these, he has formed a sect whose numbers in his own country are avowedly large, and in ours far greater than is generally thought. In America, "Individualism" has its apostles, preachers, prophets, and newspapers. It is acknowledged in society, hailed in debating clubs, and more than once has been rampantly exhibited in street riots. It is beginning to divide attention in the great cities with ledger and scrip, though expressly formed to overturn their influence. From Fanny Wright to Mr. Mason, multitudes of every rank in every state, consult "the truth that is in them, and that is native to their souls," and give to every whim of undisciplined fancy, and every vagary or crudity of weak minds, the name and the credence of eternal truth. It could scarcely be expected that a doctrine so flattering to human vanity, propounded so ably in America, should not make its converts across the Atlantic. Nor is it so. Its books are widely read, its organ has an extensive sale, and its conquests are made apparent in sneering paragraphs, in conundrum poems, in scornful smiles from young men, in whimpering crudities from solitary ladies, in the "philosophic indifferentism" of many who were reared to God, in the agonizing doubts of others who are struggling for salvation,—nay, in the maniac deaths of some, whom talent blessed, and ambition fired, but whose

* Address delivered before the Senior Class of Divinity College. Essay on the Oversoul, *passim*.

gifts were perverted, and whose hopes were blasted, by this new shape of the protean Dæmon—mental pride.

In philosophy, and in general speculation, Emerson's peculiar tenet has led him into the great characteristic of his mode of thought and manner of expression; and, unhappily, this characteristic is its chief defect, and most pervading error. "Speaking," as he says, "from the inner truth," he despises logic. He propounds rather than argues. He is oracular, not demonstrative. He does not reason up to principles, or down from principles; but he endeavours to state principles. Hence, his finest essays, analyzed, are generally poor, weak, and meagre. His subtlest speculations, stripped of their rhetorical dress and ornament, would be knocked down in a twinkling by the humblest student of a junior logic class. He not only fails in proving fallacies, but he cannot succeed in demonstrating truths. Almost all his speculation is indeterminate and vague, wandering and episodal, without a direct path or a distinct unity. It is subtle and beautiful, eloquent and specious, original and striking; but never massive or complete, trenchant or conclusive. His thought does not proceed direct and strong, like a conqueror's march; but confident and inconsiderate, like the track of some brilliant Guerilla chief. The edifice he builds shows fair and stately, it glitters with his fancy, brightens with its genius, and is decked with his versatility; but approached, it flees like the palace of a myth, or the cloud-city of a sunset. Believing that everything "the oversoul" (i. e. whim) suggests, is worthy all acceptance, Emerson gives full scope to the agility of his intellect, dashes this way and that, up and down, and on every subject gets entangled in a mesh of fantasies and fallacies. His odd metaphysical pranks are apt to remind one of the feats of the modern acrobats—quite astonishing for their activity, but quite contemptible for their object. His "Essays" contain, indeed, the "fresh thought" of a thinking man, and as such, have taken a high position in current literature; but it is thought ill modified and misdirected, wasted in the spinning of brain-webs, futile in their own purpose, and dangerous in their effect on the literature of the day.

Emerson is perhaps the most thoroughly *abandonné* writer that ever addressed a great audience or acquired an extensive fame; and this also must be set down to the cause we noted. He glories in contradiction, and boasts

of inconsistency. In the same book he advocates different views, and in the same essay propounds converse propositions. Since he began to write, he has run the circle of philosophical vagaries—always holding on, however, to this first belief in his own divinity, and only going as far as that tether to the infernal millstone permitted him. And this is not the result of a mistake, but of a design—not of a fault to be amended, but of a principle to be pursued. What shall we say of any man who declares, “I would write on the lintels of my door-post, *Whim?*” But if this does not allay our wonder somewhat at his eccentricities, what shall we think of the following?

“A foolish *consistency* is the hobgoblin of little minds—adored by little statesmen and philosophers and divines. With consistency a great soul has simply nothing to do. He may as well concern himself with his shadow on the wall. Out upon your guarded lips. Sew them up with packthread, do. Else, if you would be a man, speak what you think to-day in words as hard as cannon-balls, and to-morrow speak what to-morrow thinks in hard words again, though you contradict all you said to-day.”

This must be sufficiently puzzling to the disciples who live upon his words, as it has rendered our task more difficult and delicate. Emerson has another characteristic, clearly referable to the same source, which has often a yet more extraordinary effect. He constantly devotes the utmost attention to the demonstration, and the subtlest ingenuity to the illustration, of a matter of which no sane man could possibly doubt. He is oracular upon the commonest facts—the question being with him, not what is new, nor what has been a thousand times proved, nor what everybody knows, and has quite made up his mind about; but what he, Ralph Waldo, knows, and has made up *his* mind to—what the “Oversoul” suggests to *him*. And as the simplest propositions are often the most difficult of illustration, he frequently spends more space on these subjects than on his subtlest topics, laying himself open at once to the charges of being outrageously fanciful and unbearably trite. He enunciates a paradox dogmatically; but he lays down a truism haughtily. Hence, also, he is for ever mingling truth and falsehood, the indisputable and the unmaintainable, constantly tacking a sophism or an extravaganza to a fact, and vice versa, all with the face and authority of a seer,—thus, unconsciously perhaps, pro-

ducing an effect on weak-minded persons, which would else be hopeless, weaving a web of this double thread which it sometimes requires a clear head to unravel, and passing off the whole of his lucubrations for sake of the truth with which they are so gracefully and so closely intertwined. There are few of his productions of which you can predicate that, on the whole, they are true or false: for in fact, they are both—and neither. You are compelled to distinguish. Thus, in his essay on "History," (1st Series, No. 1.) he shows, in the course of several pages, that all men are able to understand and sympathise with history; he then assumes, that all a man understands or sympathises with, he is able to do; and, finally, he concludes, that one mind is common to all individual men, and that what Plato has thought, what a saint has felt, what a conqueror has done, what Shakespere has written, may be thought, felt, done, and written, by "yonder slip of a boy mopeing in the corner." Thus, in his essay on "Compensation," (No. 3.), having established with equal conciseness and originality that crime is its own punishment in this world, he infers with equal logic and truth, that it will meet no punishment in the next. So in "Circles;" so in "Self-Reliance;" so in almost every page he has written. We know of no writer to whom the maxim of St. Augustine applies more forcibly: "*Nulla falsa doctrina est quæ non aliqua vera intermisceat.*" It should be the motto of all his books: it is the ever recurring thought of the gentlest criticism.

Emerson is moreover a mystic: be that understood. He has had, in truth and of a certainty, "Revelations." The "Oversoul" has addressed him directly. He speaks of "the incommunicable." He has seen things, he declares, which he cannot describe, and perceived truths which he is not able to express, and been swayed by influences for which he has no name and no classification. Now this, it is true, is the language of quackery and imposture in every age and country, and coming from most other men in Emerson's situation, would be scouted at once as a deception fit only for the most verdant transcendentalist. But it is also the language of enthusiasm over-wrought, and powerful imagination over-taxed; and, as such, we are compelled to view it in the present instance. We believe it would be a serious wrong to confound Emerson with professed cheats like the "Pough

Keepsie Seer," and his charlatan competitors. He is certainly not an impostor, but a fanatic. We are compelled, not only in charity, but in justice, to yield to his vaticination whatever respect is due to the ravings of a diseased, though honest and vigorous mind. We cannot, however, describe them. It is not for us to enter the dreamy regions whither we are not led, or to pretend to reveal what none has told to us. All we can predicate, is the very consoling fact, that they *are* the wildest ravings and the sheerest fantasies. Let transcendentalists believe us, there is nothing relating to man's destiny or position which need be said, that cannot be said. No man ever conceived a great truth vividly, who was not able sooner or later to express it, not only intelligibly, but aptly and beautifully. Let us smile then at mouthing, and head shaking, and mysticism; know that although it may arrest the attention, or excite the imagination, it is, invariably, either the trick of the quack, or the failing of the diseased; and view it either as a cheat to be exposed, or a delusion to be lamented. "Not the worst criterion of true philosophy," says Novalis, "is communicability."*

That Emerson's mysticism should descend to his style, is by no means wonderful. It is quite natural that a man should say obscurely what he does not know clearly, or know at all. And here follows another contrast: as he is at once extravagant and trite, so he is, at the same time, admirably simple, and elaborately puzzling. There is scarcely any writer of the present time, and few of any period, whose general style is so exquisitely lucid; yet, we can hardly point to one who is so habitually obscure and unintelligible. He often propounds a truth as clearly and delicately as Plato, and adds a paradox as darkly as Swedenborg. We can scarcely quote a page of which we can truly aver we understand the entire. There are sentences, and scraps of sentences, thrown at random over his pages, which every one is obliged to "skip" like the Chinese quotations of Jeremy Diddler. There are whole passages which are "*lingua lorica*" to every human eye; and there are whole Essays which we believe no one, after a trial, was ever so sanguine as to indulge the wild hope of comprehending. Of the first class we shall have abundant

* *Schriften*, ii. p. 77.

specimens in the quotations we must make for other purposes; of the two latter we can only find room for a passage, which, although somewhat qualified as coming from "my poet," is yet only a specimen. Incredulous reader, riddle us this:

"Man is the dwarf of himself. Once he was permeated and dissolved by spirit. He filled nature with his overflowing currents. Out from him sprang the sun and moon: from man the sun, from woman the moon. The laws of his mind, the periods of his actions externised themselves into day and night, into the year and the seasons. But, having made for himself this huge cell, his waters retired, he no longer fills the veins and rivulets: he is shrunk into a drop. He sees that the structure still fits him, but fits him colossally. Say, rather, once it fitted him, but now it corresponds to him, from far and on high. He adores timidly his own work. Now is man the follower of the sun, and woman of the moon. Yet sometimes he starts in his slumber, and wonders at himself and his house, and muses strangely at the resemblances between him and it. He perceives that if his law is still paramount, if he still have elemental power, if 'his word is yet sterling in nature,' it is not conscious power, it is not inferior, but superior to his will; it is instinct."—*Essay on Nature*, c. viii. p. 58.

Emerson's love for nature is one of the most remarkable of his characteristics as a writer and thinker. And in many respects, it is a true, modest, and poetic love. Not the result of culture, nor the trick of an artist, nor the sentimentalism of a dilettante, it is rather a passion than a principle. Breathing through all his poetry and most of his prose, it furnishes his most beautiful illustrations, and suggests his subtlest thoughts. Perhaps it is the great charm of his essays, that they, as it were, smell of the woods, and mirror the stars, and have a glow and freshness, a simplicity and sobriety, that would make one believe they were written, not in the garret of a lane, or amidst the bustle of a market, but on the peak of some proud rock, or the swell of some mossy hillock, or the trunk of some grand old forest oak, with no sight around but Nature's triumphs, and no sound attracting but Nature's harmonies. The very reverse of a pot-house inspiration is his: it resembles more the enthusiasm of an anchorite. In the fields under the woods, among the mountains, he loses himself, and becomes a poet—A POET full of eloquence, gladness, and love.

"I have seen the spectacle of Morning," he cries, "from the hill-top over against my house, from daybreak to sunrise, with emotions which an angel might share! The long, slender bars of cloud float like fishes in the sea of crimson light. From the earth as a shore I look out into that silent sea, I seem to partake its rapid transformations: the active enchantment reaches my dust, and I dilate and conspire with the morning wind. How does Nature deify us with a few and cheap elements! Give me health, and bread, and a day, and I will make the pomp of emperors ridiculous. The dawn is my Assyria; the sunset and moonrise my Paphos, and unimaginable realms of faëry; broad noon shall be my England of the senses and the understanding; the night shall be my Germany of mystic philosophy and dreams."—*Essay on Nature*, p. 10.

"My house," he says again, "stands on low land, with limited outlook, and on the skirt of the village. But I go with my friend to the bank of our little river, and with one stroke of the paddle I leave the village politics and personalities; yes, and the world of villages and personalities behind, and pass into a delicate realm of sunset and moonlight, too bright almost for spotted man to enter without novitiate and probation. We penetrate boldly this incredible beauty; we dip our hands in this painted element: our eyes are bathed in these lights and forms. A holiday, a *villegiatura*, a royal revel, the proudest, most heart-rejoicing festival that valour and beauty, power and taste ever decked and enjoyed, establishes itself on the instant."—*Ibid*, p. 115.

"Crossing a bare common," he declares, "in snow puddles, at twilight, under a clouded sky, without having in my thoughts any occasion of special good fortune, I have enjoyed a perfect exhilaration. Almost I fear to think how glad I am."—*Ibid*.

And this love is not a mere abstraction: it has influenced his life. For many years Emerson has bade "Good-bye,"

"To crowded halls, to court and street,
To frozen hearts and hasting feet;"

for his own

"——— hearth-stone,
Bosomed in yon green hills, alone;
A secret nook in a pleasant land,
Whose groves the frolic fairies planned—
Where arches green, the livelong day,
Echo the blackbirds' roundelay;"—

—where he has embraced a solitude, which, if not "sacred

to thought and God," has at least been devoted to speculation and study.

And does not this man, so rapturous in his appreciation of this glorious world which God has ordered for us, filled with the music of "those low tones heard by the calm alone,"—*whose heart is so open, whose glance is so penetrating*, whose word is so forcible,—penetrate the outside of things, read the symbols of nature, and find in everything beautiful and grand tokens of "remembrance of a present God?" Here, at least, we shall find an exception to the sad faults we have been finding. What more glorious for a true son of genius than to walk forth from solitude and the blessed "mountains of God," and the ever-hymning forest, and companionship with the glorious sun, and the dreamy moon, and "the delicately-emerging stars, with their private and ineffable glances," and proclaim once more, in the highway and in the closet, to the men of the cities and the factories, on the page so often stained, or with the speech so long abused, with new ardour and new inspiration, in a new tongue and a new modification, the old truths and ancient homilies which its CREATOR has written in fullest and fairest characters around the universe; sung by the stream, chanted by the breeze, painted by the sunlight, symbolized throughout all "Nature!" Here, at least, shall crotchets be flung by, and "mysticism" rejected, and "philosophy" despised. Standing, with a true man's thought, in this high temple, amidst the solemn choral chant of all mute creation, in the awful and evident presence of God, he durst not intrude his self-sufficiency, he shall not dare indulge his wild and trifling vagaries. Sweet pictures shall we have from that rich imagination, of the ideal wealth and suggestiveness of our stately home; humble, prayerful homage, more acceptable than any incense, shall rise from this deep heart to the throne of the All-wise and All-beautiful!

"Nothing is truly known, unless God be truly known." So said Duns Scotus, a thousand years ago,* after our Saviour and the Apostles, in anticipation of the Bernards and the Dantes. Such is the sentence of Emerson's love of nature; as, indeed, it is of the chief part of to-day's

* Sent. Dist. lib. 1, c. iii, q. 23.

literature. Alas! it is not as we might guess. Even here his baleful tenet rules him as tyrannically as in yon steaming lecture-hall. He is a mere Pantheist. He can only spin out some sorry speculation, in part derived from the old Pythagorean system. He loves nature, "because it is the expression of the Oversoul, or rather because it is the Oversoul." It is no Gregory who speaks in his page, no wise Augustin, no Milton, no solemn Pacquet, no calm, clear-thinking Cowper. It is still the poor "philosopher," the blind "Seer," the mean "Transcendentalist." His essays on nature would make one smile, if they did not stir one's soul with mingled grief and indignation. Almost every speculation he ventures on is a fantasy; almost every proposition is a fallacy; almost every inference a distortion; almost every statement an exaggeration. The man—this prophet, Emerson—cannot tell the glories of passive Nature—the *natura naturata* of the schoolmen—without launching into a flood of sickly euphuism and transcendental cant, almost enough to make one hate the sight of flowery mead or gorgeous sunset. He cannot speak of Nature efficient—*natura naturans*—but he must needs let us know how "Geology has initiated us into the secularity of Nature;" taught us "to disuse our dame-school measures," and exchange our "Mosaic and Ptolemaic systems for her large style;" but he must devote all his remaining space to speculations, hovering between mysticism and silliness, on the effects on matter and man of some "famous aboriginal push," which he wots of, and which, it seems, "propagates itself through all the balls of the system, and through every atom of every ball, through all races and creatures, and through the history and performances of every individual," in a manner quite satisfactory and "philosophical." (2nd Series, No. vi.) He is even more unfortunate in his more elaborate attempt. His pamphlet, entitled "Nature," is, it is true, the most graceful and accomplished statement and defence of the doctrines of Pantheism that has appeared; but it is no more. It is destitute of right aspiration and conclusive argument. Making a whimsical four-fold division of the functions of Nature, Emerson exaggerates what he terms its "Commodity," misstates its "Beauty," and proceeds to prove that it possesses a "Language"—not the language that we half-figuratively ascribe to it, but a *bonâ fide* teaching of its own, articulate as any voice of prophet,

derived from the fact that it is but the expression or "incarnation" of the Universal Spirit, whose more perfect development is man, and whose pure essence is the Divinity; which teaching is destined henceforth to be the glorious testament of all true thinkers, and which at last, for some more pure or daring sage, will solve "the Sphinx-riddle of Existence." Hence he argues a "Discipline," and infers the doctrine of "Idealism," preaches transcendental "Spirituality" and transcendental "Prospects"—discipline that would rear madmen, idealism at which even Berkeley or Viasa would smile, spirituality which despises Christianity, and prospects that, if they were not impossible, would be terrible. So true is it, that when the harmony of the soul—the *divina musica* of Ficinius—is broken in its loftiest principle, it cannot longer exist anywhere; not even in that development to which the faculties of the individual would seem most emphatically to point.

But if there be one external quality which, more than another, distinguishes Emerson from the crowd, it is his preaching what he calls "Self-Reliance." For this, in his own land, he has been hailed priest and prophet from the Arctics to the Brazils. For this, the sound of his praise has re-echoed from many schools, and in many tongues, of the other hemisphere. For this,—for putting before those slavish times and nations a doctrine so high, so delicate, so narrowly understood,—he would seem at first to be entitled to the approbation of all friends of society. And his fame does not exceed his zeal. The topic is always before his mind, repeated in nearly every speculation, enforced a hundred times in every book, and made the constant theme of prose and verse—essay, lecture, and lyric. But in this also Emerson's evil genius has triumphed. It is *not* self-reliance in our sense he preaches; not the self-reliance of the follower of the Lamb. He debases the word, and discredits the thing. Not the Christian virtue, the correlative of humility, fills his mind, fires his thought, and glows upon his page; but the heathen error, and the worldling's crime. It is only poor human pride. Its development is only the more dangerous that it wears the semblance of philosophy, and, in this case, is allied with genius and zeal. It is, in fact, the logical sequence of the doctrine of the "Oversoul." If instinct be divine, reliance upon it is, unquestionably, wise and necessary. As the

one tenet is almost the converse of the Christian belief, so is the other of the Christian rule of ethics. "All strength is from God the Lord," says Paul. "Strength cometh from thyself, is the very kernel of thyself," preaches Emerson. "Frater, noli putare te ipsam esse lucem," warns Augustine. "Friend," pleads Emerson, "believe all light, all majesty, all beauty to be centered in thyself." "Self-Reliance!" Hear his exposition:

"What a man does, that he has. What has he to do with hope and fear? In himself is his might. Let him regard no good as solid but that which is in his nature, and which must grow out of him as long as he exists. The goods of fortune may come and go, like summer-leaves: let him play with them, and scatter them on every wind, as the momentary signs of his infinite productiveness, Thus all concentrates: let us not rove: let us sit at home with the cause, let us shun and astonish the intruding rabble of men, and books, and institutions by a simple declaration of the divine fact. Bid them take their shoes from their feet, for God is here within."—*Essays, Second Series, pp. 143, 7.*

And now listen to the sweet, solemn voice of an old friend, dissipating all thought of this insane babble by the holy monition of the ancient truth:

"Qui bene seipsum cognoscit, sibi ipsi vilescit. Si vis utiliter aliquid scire et discere, ama nesciri et pro nihilo reputari. Hæc est altissima et utilissima lectio, sui ipsius vera cognitio et despectio. De seipso nihil tenere, et de aliis semper bene et alte sentire, magna sapientia est et alta perfectio. Si videres alium aperte peccare vel aliqua gravia perpetrare, non deberes te tamen melioris æstimare, quia nescis quamdiu possis in bono statu permanere. Omnes fragiles sumus: sed tu neminem fragiliorem te ipso tenebis."—*De Imitatione Christi, lib. i. cap. ii.*

"*Nonnulla referre refutare est.*" This does not need more than statement and comparison. Indescribably sorrowful and appalling, however, is the thought, that men, deceived by this glittering phantom, so like the Eternal Verity, and urged to a fictitious and artificial activity, of which pride is the source and this the direction, may work on through years or through life, falling many times, but struggling stoutly; and when the enthusiasm of youth has died away, and the sad sobriety of age has chilled all fervour and quieted all vehemence, when they find that their goal is unattainable as a star, and their hope rotten as the sea-fruit of Edom, when they have nothing to turn to,

and nothing to hold by, may sink at last in the awful agony of despair, crying out, with some semblance of justice, in the words of that fearful but characteristic line of Euripides, which Brutus shrieked as he threw himself on his sword at Philippi: "O virtue, I have followed thee through life, and at death I find thee only a SHADOW!"

As a further exemplification of what we have been saying, take up any volume of his Essays. Let it be even the second series, which his disciples and admirers laud most highly, and which is unquestionably his most artistic literary production.

The first paper is on a subject which, perhaps more than any other, we would desire to see treated by Emerson. A poet himself of no mean order, it ought to be interesting to know what he shall say of "The Poet." Only this: to deal out at first some curious prefatory observations, equally characteristic of his wonderful subtlety and his wonderful obliquity of thought, and then to etch a fancy-picture—glorious indeed, noble, and delicate, radiant with the splendour of his imagination, crowned with the diadem of his zeal, more pure than Ion, more captivating than Christabel; but with a pretty similar relation to his subject. Not only is the sketch unrealized by any poet of any age, for that could scarcely be required, but it is not the ideal of which any have been the imitation, or the model after which any have striven. It is a type without an anti-type. Emerson himself sees this, and confesses it. He "can find none to approach his standard;" all are "wits more than poets," "men of talent who sing, not children of music." Milton and Homer seem to him like approximations; but the one is "too literary," and the other "too literal and historical." In fact, if flesh and blood ever held any soul like this ideal, it must have been among the rapt recluses of the Thebaid, or the burning *extaticas* of holy annals. Here, at any rate, the matter is out of place. The paper is a good specimen of the author's vagarious and illogical manner, and his perverse tendency to idle and irrelevant dreaming.

Essay II., on "Experience," is one of the most mystical of all his papers, and perhaps, on the whole, one of the most extraordinary dissertations ever penned, spoken, or thought by man. Either it is too high for us, or we are too low for it. Having read it twice over, and paused many times to meditate, we can assure the unacquainted that

we cannot understand a hundred consecutive lines in it. The initiated may possess the cipher to the hieroglyph; but we confess ourselves fairly puzzled. To our view anything so wild, so gracefully paradoxical, so mysteriously involved, so elaborately enigmatical, and yet bearing marks of genius so incontestable, has scarcely ever issued from press of printer. Speak of the "transcendental" Emmanuel Kant, of the "fuliginous" Swedenborg, of the "unimaginable" Füre, of the headache-giving Lessing, of that other librarian of Wolfenbüttel, with a name like a cough, and books like Bilboa-blisters: all—and as many more as you like—are lucid as air, bright as sunbeams, limpid as may-dew, *when compared to this.* Design or consecution we miss in it, definite beginning or sane end. Either we are mad, or it is nonsense. It is so dreadfully oracular, that, like the deeper responses of the ancient Pythoness, it is unintelligible. If it have any scope, it is to enforce some wild theory of morality, as impossible of realization, as, if realized, it would be utterly heartless, hopeless, and insufficient. We cannot pass it without noting, that there are one or two passages which we do not dare extract, and do not like to think of, so strong is their savour of what seems deliberate blasphemy.

The next paper is on "Character." Concerning this subject our author has taken up a very original crotchet. Thus he describes character:

"Sir Philip Sydney, the Earl of Essex, Sir Walter Raleigh, are men of great figure and of few deeds. We cannot find the smallest part of the personal weight of Washington in the narrative of his exploits. The authority of the name of Schiller is too great for his books. This inequality of the reputation to the works or anecdotes is not accounted for by saying that the reverberation is longer than the thunder-clap: but somewhat resided in these men that outran all their performances. The largest part of their power was latent. This is what we call 'character'—a reserved force which acts directly by presence and without means. It is conceived as of a certain undemonstrable force, a Familiar or Genius, by whose impulses the man is guided, but whose counsels he cannot impart: which is company for him, so that such men are often solitary, or, if they chance to be social, do not need society, but can entertain themselves very well alone. The purest literary talent appears at one time great, at another small: but character is of a stellar and undiminshable greatness."—p. 59.

Led by this odd goblin-fancy, we take a somewhat

pleasant ramble through some rich flowering of imagination and ripe harvesting of thought, stumbling now and then into provoking quagmires, and surprised anon by the attack of bold banditti-sophisms that would fain rob us of anything we had gained, and, of course, arrive at—nothing.

"Manners" is one of the best of Emerson's essays. Calm, clear, and shrewd, not profound enough to be mystical, but profound enough to be true, it is at once agreeable and useful. The evil genius, nevertheless, peeps through incessantly, and spoils much loveliness—as where we are told it is the flower of courtesy "to sit apart like the gods, talking from peak to peak all round Olympus," and in the far too strict and almost naïve application, throughout, of high principles to poor fashionable foibles—but it comes in guise so modified, and company so improved, that few would have the heart to gibbet it.

On the two succeeding essays we shall not dwell. "Gifts" is a whimsical trifle, and "Nature" has been spoken of before. Leaving, with a sense of relief, the abused solemnity of the latter subject, we are pleased to come again to the street and the market. It is a satisfaction to get down from our poor tottering stilts, and walk manfully whither we are taken, in search of the truth that can be said of "Politics." The opening of the paper is once more in the happy vein. The thought is subtler than Blackstone's and the style direct as Napoleon's. The great question of social life, the old antagonism of parties, persons versus property, is stated as clearly as we have ever seen it. With eager eye and kindling fancy we glance from line to line, thinking that here at last the demon is conquered, until we arrive at the latter, and what should be the better, half of the essay,—that which treats of the Future,—when we meet him face to face. He propounds a scheme, according to which we are now, it seems—we of the nineteenth century—after all "only at the cock-crowing and the morning-star." "The influence of character" is to be the glory of our noon, superseding government, laws, and confided power, "the rightful lord who is to tumble all rulers from their chairs;" although, singular to say, "this is as yet hardly suspected." Plainly, the oracle saith that, at no distant, but no very definite period, all men will be Seraphim. And this is to be the seraphic social aspect:

"The wise man is the state." He needs no army, fort, or navy; he loves men too well: no bribe, or feast, or palace to draw friends to him: no vantage ground, no favourable circumstance. He needs no library, for he has not yet done thinking; no church, for he is a prophet; no statute-book, for he is the lawgiver; no money, for he is value; no road, for he is at home where he is; no experience, for the life of the Creator shoots through him, and looks through his eyes. He has no personal friends, for he who has the spell to draw to him the prayer and piety of all men, needs not to husband and educate a few to share with him a select and poetic life. His relation to men is angelic: his memory is myrrh to them: his presence is frankincense and flowers."—p. 143.

Admitting the certain advent of this state of things, we can have no hesitation in capping the climax by adding, that "the power of love shall be the leases of states, and the moral instinct write the laws of the land;" but this condition not having as yet arrived, we are entitled to protest against the complaint, that "there is not among the most civilized and instructed men of the most religious and civil nations, a sufficient reliance on the moral sentiment and a sufficient belief in the unity of things, to persuade them that society can be maintained without artificial restraints, as well as the solar system," (p. 146); and we are forced to smile at the confusion of his ideas when he adds, "what is strange, too, there never was in any man sufficient faith in the power of rectitude to inspire him with the broad idea of renovating the state on the principle of love," (ibid.) But it is not so. That the paper may leave a sweet flavour, we are dismissed with the consoling assurance, that "there are now men—if, indeed, I can speak in the plural number—more exactly, I will say, I have just been conversing with one man, to whom no weight of adverse experience will make it for a moment appear impossible, that thousands of human beings might exercise towards each other the grandest and simplest sentiments, as well as a knot of friends or a pair of lovers," (p. 147.)

"Nominalist and Realist" has the old fault in miserable perspicuity. A great deal of subtle thought, judicious observation, and fine fancy is wasted on the illustration of a very shallow sophism—like a monarch's robe flaunting over a crippled beggar. This is the summary of "principles:"

"The end and the means, the gamester and the game—life is

made up of the intermixture and reaction of these two amicable powers, whose marriage appears beforehand monstrous, as each denies and tends to abolish the other. We must reconcile the contradiction as we can, but their discord and their concord introduce wild absurdities into our thinking and manner of speech. No sentence will hold the whole truth, and the only way in which we can be just is by giving ourselves the lie: Speech is better than silence; silence is better than speech. All things are in contact: every atom has a sphere of repulsion:—Things are, and are not, at the same time—and the like. All the Universe over there is but one thing, this old Two-face, creator—creature, mind—matter, *right—wrong*, of which any proposition may be affirmed or denied." —p. 163.

This is futile enough, but it is not the worst. Scattered over the paper are some sentences and scraps of sentences, *expressing or implying a meaning so audacious*, that they must bring the flush to any cheek down which the tear of devotion has ever rolled—cast, like elf-knots on the lea—mysterious how they could find an honest writer or a patient reader.

Of the following production, warned by our experience, and discouraged by the nature of the subject, we expected little: and we were not disappointed. It purports to be a Sabbath Lecture, delivered before "the Society" in "Amery-hall," on "The New England Reformers." It commences by putting to flight, briefly, haughtily, and indiscriminately, the various sects and societies, the fruitful spawn of dissent and "free-thinking," which have distracted that unhappy portion of the world for the last quarter of a century, in religion, in morals, and in literature: those hot ultraists, who "defy one another like a congress of kings, each of whom had a kingdom to rule and a way of his own which made concert impracticable:" those apostles of Christianity, who deny the divinity of Christ: those evangelists of new light, with their hundred hobbies and whimsicalities,—some declaring that salvation was possible only for farmers; some that the use of money was the cardinal evil, and the act of traffic a moral crime; some alleging the mischief to be in our diet and that we eat and drink damnation; some that make unleavened bread, and are foes of fermentation unto the death; some who attack the system of agriculture; some who deny man's right to destroy ground-worms; some who assail particular vocations, as that of the merchant, the

manufacturer, the clergyman, the scholar; some who associate piously to disturb places of worship; and some again who find the *fons et origo malorum* in the institution of marriage,—these, with all the foolish forms of the more Puritan antinomianism, our lecturer routs with a very few, quiet, and decisive blows. The field being cleared, he then propounds his own “system,” and rears his own “order.” See you! this poor, weak, blind one, hailed by dolts and flatterers as Seer, Prophet, and Priest, at length believes the dolts and flatterers, and is *before you to reveal, to prophesy, and to preach.*

This is his revelation:—

“There is power over and behind us, and we are the channels of its communications. We seek to say thus and so, and over our head some spirit sits, which contradicts what we say. We would *persuade our fellow to do this or that: another self within our eyes* dissuades him. That which we keep back, this reveals. In vain we compose our faces and our words: it holds uncontrollable communication with the enemy, and he answers civilly to us, but *believes the spirit.*”—p. 188.

And this is his prophecy:—

“If the auguries of the prophesying heart shall make themselves good in time, the man who shall be born, whose advent men and events prepare and foreshow, is one who shall enjoy his connexion with a higher life, with the man within man: shall destroy distrust by his trust, shall use his native but forgotten methods, shall not take counsel of flesh and blood, but shall rely on the law alive and beautiful which works over our heads and under our feet.”—*Ibid.*

And this is his preaching of morality:—

“As soon as a man is wonted to look beyond surfaces, and to see how this high will pervades without an exception or an interval, he settles himself into serenity. He can already rely on the laws of gravity, that every stone will fall where it is due: the good globe is faithful and carries us securely through the celestial space anxious or resigned: *we need not interfere to help it on*, and we will learn one day, the mild lesson they teach, that our own orbit is all our task, and we need not assist the administration of the universe.”—p. 189.

And so, after a little more in the same strain, the lecture concludes,—and the volume. Such then is the aspect of Emerson’s best book. Such is the power and the prevalence of his fundamental errors, that they negative all

the vigour of his genius and mar all the clearness of his thought, beguiling him when he is calm, and bewitching him when he is zealous; making him reverize instead of investigate, and dogmatize instead of argue; transforming so often his piety into blasphemy, and his poetry into pantheism; turning his subtlety into mysticism, and his enthusiasm into fanaticism; blotting so much beauty, and distorting so much grace; depriving his productions of distinct order and definite end; and, on the whole, incapacitating him from treating judiciously, if not effectively, subjects so diverse, so unconnected with his failings, and so suitable to his peculiar faculties.

But, on the other hand, he who would rightly estimate Emerson, must always keep in mind that he is one of the most gifted writers of his day. His influence we have indicated in the commencement: and that, after all, is not a bad test. Peculiarities may catch the fancy for a day; false glitter may dazzle for a while; small talent may be the light of a clique; but it is only Genius could gather around it such an audience as Emerson commands, raise up enthusiastic admirers and vehement disciples among the learned of the two hemispheres, and multiply itself in images and imitations in the three most noble tongues men speak. We cannot find a more descriptive phrase for him than that we have used more than once before—he is a very *subtle* thinker. He is not logical like “David:” nor historical like Carlyle: nor profound like the Scholastics: nor on fire with imagination like the later Germans: nor scientific like Bonald: nor even ordinarily correct and lucid: but he is, beyond most men, quick and penetrative, perceives a distinction more sharply, discerns an analogy more vividly, catches a shape more accurately, and hits off a definition more finely. Distorted though his vision be, his glance is telescopic. Eminently misled, he is otherwise eminently qualified to lead. Almost designedly illogical, he possesses, nevertheless, in a high degree, the faculty and habit of classifying facts and marshalling them for use. He is clearly original; nay original to a fault. He will not take your statement, or our system, or his thought, until it has passed through the alembic of his own mind, and there endured its test and received its shape. He has not, of course, escaped being denounced as a copy, for *that* has become the cant of every chatterer who can see an analogy. As well might

they proclaim the tulip a palpable plagiarist of the viarita. He has been set down as the modern Heraclitus, the American Jean Paul, the new Montaigne, the Yankee Carlyle. As fitly might he be phrased the modern Augustin, or the American Solomon, the new Aquinas, or the Yankee Bacon. Moreover, he is, we believe, thoroughly sincere. We envy not the critic or the opponent who could call Emerson a quack, or a cheat, or an actor. We are convinced he would sacrifice his life for his dreams. His very treatment of a subject indicates purity of intention. He is above mean trick, or pompous charlatanism, or sly suppression of the truth; states an objection fairly and fully, and in his whole conduct of a question, is destitute alike of shuffling and claptrap. His propagandism is zealous and generous, and his speculations are evidently his hobbies. He writes as if the fate of nations hung upon his syllables; and his thoughts strike with the impetus of his earnestness. But he is not by any means so unobnoxious to the contrary charge of egotism and overrating his own productions. He is vain to the very excess of conceitedness. Living alone, conscious of his genius, surrounded on every side by those worst of enemies, flatterers,—*pessimum inimicorum genus*, *laudatores*,—directing so much of thought, influencing so much literature, and occupying so much attention, hailed by many as a second Moses, whose pen, a more glorious divining rod, is endowed with elemental power, we cannot wonder that poor nature should fall into a snare so specious: and we must rather admire the frequent efforts he makes to free himself from the insidious toils, than condemn with too severe a censure the extent of his weakness.

One of the most happy results of his genius, and most important agencies of his success, is his wonderful prose style. It takes some time to think of his equal in that respect. Every page has an energy, simplicity, and grace, not often surpassed. We have almost feared to quote his wildest fallacies, lest their fine robe should conceal their deformity. The best characteristic of his diction is the almost perfect correspondence of the idea and its expression,

“—————It is the thought writ down,
Not its effect, nor likenesses of likenesses.”

He thoroughly hates "gloves instead of hands to shake." If he be diffuse, the diffusion exists in his own mind. He does not declaim, but he says. The idea has just a graceful and adequate form, but not a prison or an encumbrance. He even disdains ordinary arts, and scorns to gild a truth or crown a stately thought. He fastens to his notion a proper symbol, and so utters it, without pomposity. Ever simple and direct, like one in sincere earnest, he is scarcely ever bold or abrupt. On the contrary, like every one inflamed by zeal and elevated by meditation, his diction constantly rises above the literal, and becomes imaginative and brilliant, picturesque and rythmical. It is not too much to say that it is one of the best styles an essayist ever adopted. It is more simple than Montaigne's and more calm than Foster's, more racy than Addison's and more graceful than Hazlitt's.

Emerson is also a man of poetical genius. Nearly all his writings have a poetical hue, which they do not exhibit like a paint or wear like a garment, but which seems part of themselves, like the tint of the rose. He is not by any means dramatical, nor epic in the slightest, nor even lyrical in the ordinary sense; but he is full of fine appreciation of the beauties of nature, and subtle speculations of the truths of man: and he gives utterance to these with stirring enthusiasm and touching imagery. He has, however, been excessively overrated in this respect. While he is often above the ground-line of prose, and constantly gets into a rare and faëry atmosphere,—sometimes too fine and high for his purpose—he never attains the region of the Gods, and never tempts the fate of Diada, by too long a flight or too lofty a song. He is poetical rather than a poet. He does not raise a proud, jubilant carol which all men shall hail and all ages prolong: he does not etch a fair picture which is to us a mirror of life, and to our children shall be the proudest and dearest of records: he does not waive a Prospero-wand to open to us a new realm of poesy, where the shadows of our thoughts, catching glorious form, shall be new and select companions, and the beautiful picture of the allegory shall be truer than the dry facts of life: but he lays a delicate and clear-toned soul open to the influences of nature and the suggestions of impulse, and, moved by these, his writings, however poor or distorted, breathe a soft undertone of melody: as in the forest which he loves the humblest shrub and most stunted trees

often murmur, like wind-harps, with a gentle music which the south wind plays. His prose works are far more poetical than his "Poems." The latter have been on the whole failures, and for an obvious reason. Attempting to reach the elevation of song, he attained only the elevation of mysticism. He is strong enough to get into the clouds, but scarcely ever strong enough to rise above them. Hence, when he mounts Pegasus, he is generally lost to human sight, and his most gallant escapades are only riddles for the curious. In those flights, too, he loses his customary power over language, or rather, he throws it away. He struggles so hard to be poetical, that he becomes turgid and extravagant. He endeavours to startle by extraordinary effects, rather than to please by a rich profusion. Trammelled by rhyme, he twists old English into the oddest paroxysms and the most enigmatical inversions. But even to this there are some pleasant exceptions, like the "Threnody" on the death of his child, and the following scrap, beyond which we had better not go, lest the invitation of its lines may be accepted by our most dear and patient reader:—

"Thousand minstrels woke within me,
 'Our music's in the hills:—
 Gayest pictures rose to win me,
 Leopard-coloured rills.
 Up!—If thou knewest who calls,
 To twilight parks of beech and pine,
 High over the river's intervals,
 Above the ploughman's highest line
 Over the owner's farthest walls;—
 Up!—where the airy citadel
 O'erlooks the purging landscape's swell,
 Let not unto the stones, the day
 Her lily and her rose, her sea and land display.

"Read the celestial sign!
 Lo! the South answers to the North:—
 Bookworm, break this sloth urbane:
 A greater Spirit bids thee forth
 Than the gray dreams which thee detain.
 Mark how the climbing Oreads
 Beckon thee to their arcades,
 Youth, for a moment, free as they,
 Teach thy feet to feel the ground,

Ere yet arrive the wintry day
When Time thy feet has bound.
Accept the bounty of thy birth;
Taste the lordship of the Earth.*

We have spoken long of Emerson, far longer than our first aim proposed: and yet we find much still to say, much of description, much of analysis, more of warning. The psychological consideration of his character would be a worthy study. The probable influence of his writings and their right reception, would prove instructive themes. What we have done must suffice for the present. It must be enough if we have firmly, as with a grave sense of a growing evil, but gently, as with the charity of truth, noted the salient features of his subjective character, as a religionist, as a thinker, and as a man of letters. To others, or to another occasion, we leave the consideration of his relations, whether to abstract truth, to past history, to present interests, or to the prospects of the future. Above the rancour of partisanship, above the indiscriminate bitterness of bigotry, we must endeavour to take him for what he is; marking the folly of his parasites, seeing the exaggeration of his enemies, resisting the encroachment of his propagandism, and using the simple antidote of truth against the subtle poison of his fallacies. We must note the force of those fundamental errors he cherishes, and their opposition to every thing true in doctrine, holy in revelation, and necessary in morals: we shall remark their disastrous efficacy in the perversion of his faculties, the misdirection of his zeal, and the failure of his most promising efforts: we shall find in these the clue to the mingled right and wrong of all his speculations: we shall estimate the extent of the capabilities which God has bestowed on him, and which his own exertions have so sedulously cultured: we shall bear glad witness to the apparent purity of his intention and sincerity of his zeal: and we shall draw our own conclusions as to the mischief to be apprehended from his exertions, and the modes by which they can be most effectively resisted. We shall think of him with admiration and with fear as of a beautiful and enticing danger. The current of his thought shall be to us like a stream—bright, fresh, and sparkling, but

* Poems, p. 73, "Monaduoc."

swiftly flowing to a precipice. The atmosphere of his speculation shall remind us of the breeze of the Hymmalaye-top, gentle and flower-scented, but a malaria to human life. And his character as a writer shall be figured to us by a tree, stately and vigorous and fair to see, rising from a rich soil into a fragrant air, but bearing on its luxuriant branches only dead-sea fruits, and giving in its mellow growth no promise of enduring beauty;—not a grand, homestead oak, venerable and ancient, every gnarl telling of an age and time, each wide-spreading bough vocal with glad bird-music, loved associations gathering round it like dear and holy spells, joy, love, kindness, and purity, nestling under it and playing beneath it, as in their old and proper bower.

ART. VI.—1. *The Portuguese Schism Unfolded*; being a Reply to the Pastoral of one Rev. Philip Caetano Piedade De Concegao, &c., by a Catholic. Colombo, Ceylon, 1846.

2.—*Annals of the Propagation of the Faith*. Vol. i. Nos. 3 and 8.

3.—*British Catholic Colonial Intelligencer*. No. 4. Keating and Brown, London, 1837.

THE last two years has been an eventful time in the history of Europe. The exciting changes and revolutions which have been taking place on the continent, are still fresh in our minds, and there is no reason to believe that we have yet seen the end of them. To the Catholic especially, it is a time of more than ordinary interest, from the deep concern which the church feels in all that is going on. And though he cannot be without his fears and anxieties for her welfare in this or that kingdom, yet, on the whole, hope, and joy, and gratitude, predominate, when he thinks of the man whom God has sent to uphold and govern His church in these days of trouble and commotion; and he looks forward towards the future with ardent hopes and desires for what may in time be effected by a Pontiff, who, in a situation of extraordinary difficulty and trial, has so distinguished himself, as, in less than two years, to have gained a name throughout Europe.

Yet, if Pius IX. has shewn himself eminently fitted to grapple with the difficulties of these turbulent times, while we feel proud of the high position he has taken, we must not, on the other hand, forget the less brilliant, but equally solid benefits, conferred on the church by his predecessor. Gregory XVI. was as plainly fitted for the profound and unbroken peace in which he reigned, as his successor is for the present day; and he used his opportunities well. In a quiet but effective way, he gave an impulse to foreign missions, the fruits of which are now showing themselves. It is a bright and cheering prospect to see what wonderful progress the church is making in every part of the world. What time could be referred to, since the age of the apostles, in which she has been more widely and steadily extending her dominion? From the east and the west, the north and the south, the same accounts are brought of the wonderful progress of Catholicism, and the same tale is told of the hundreds and thousands, and tens of thousands more, who *might* be converted, were only the number of missionaries greater, though at present it is not sufficient to supply the spiritual wants of those who are already in the church. Much of the seed of this plenteous harvest was sown and fostered by the hand of Gregory XVI., and his name will long be remembered in foreign missions.

In the present article it is our purpose to give some account of the progress of Catholicism in a part of the world in which Gregory XVI. seems to have taken a particular interest—the Peninsula of India. And though there are other countries in which his labours have been more brilliantly crowned with success, even here the prospects are sufficiently cheering; and it is plain, that when once the schism which he laboured so hard to suppress, shall have been finally extinguished, the greatest success may be confidently expected, since so much has been effected even under the present state of things. The history of this struggle, which has been going on for a long time, and is not even yet terminated, cannot fail to be interesting to us, since it is not only maintained in our own days, but likewise in the very centre of the British possessions, and has its origin in that same fatal spirit of national pride which three hundred years ago drove our own land into its unhappy apostacy.

We will endeavour, then, from such scanty sources of

information as the subject affords, to give our readers a short outline of the circumstances which led to the Portuguese schism in India, and of the principal documents relating to it.

Christianity, it is said, was first carried into India by St. Thomas the apostle, and very flourishing missions established there. But whatever truth there may be in this tradition, it is certain that from the ninth century downwards, the Syrian Mar Thomas had introduced the errors of Nestorius even into these distant parts. When the Portuguese, under Vasco de Gama, landed on the Malabar coast, in about 1505, they found a considerable number of these Nestorians or Jacobites, who there went by the name of Syro-Chaldaeans, or simply Syrians. These Syrians acknowledged the authority of a bishop, who had the title of Bishop of Angamalé, and who was appointed sometimes by the Jacobite Patriarch of Nineveh, sometimes by the Nestorian Patriarch of Babylon. There were many congregations of them, both on the mountains and along the coast; but they had sunk into a very gross state of ignorance, clergy as well as people, so that they did not perceive the difference between the creeds of Eutyches and Nestorius, but admitted alternately both the one and the other. And there are still to be found in India a number of Nestorian christians acknowledging obedience to their own schismatical metropolitan.

The Portuguese, however, or rather the priests that accompanied them, were very active in endeavouring to convert these heretics, as well as the heathen. And when St. Francis Xavier and his companions arrived there, they succeeded in bringing over a great number to the orthodox faith. Whole districts are said to have fallen at the feet of St. Francis and renounced their errors. And as the number of converts was now very great, and christianity was continuing to make rapid progress, his Holiness Paul IV, in the year 1547, or perhaps 1557, erected Cochin, one of the chief cities of the Portuguese on the Malabar coast, into a Bishop's See, and included the Syrian churches within its jurisdiction. At the same time he also erected the episcopal See of Malacca, and the Archdiocese of Goa, also situated on the Malabar coast, between Cochin and Bombay, and about three degrees south of the latter. And as the Portuguese government had done a great deal to forward this mission, as well as to extend christianity

in other parts of the world where it had made conquests, the Holy See rewarded its zeal by granting to it the patronage of newly-erected sees. The Portuguese missionaries in the meantime made great efforts to bring back their erring brethren, the Syrians, and in the year 1596, Alexis Menesses, the Archbishop of Goa, was successful. A council was held between them at the small village of Odiampar, and the bishop with his clergy and people were persuaded to renounce their errors, and to acknowledge the authority of the Holy See, retaining, however, the language and liturgy of the Chaldaean church. And this bishop persevered to his death in adherence to the faith.

In the year 1600, Clement VIII. confirmed to the sovereign of Portugal the privileges which had been granted by his predecessor. And in 1605, the Bishop of Angamalé being now dead, Pope Paul V. suppressed that diocese altogether, and erected the new see of Cranganore, at that time a considerable sea-port, five leagues to the north of Cochin, on the Malabar coast. He raised it to be an Arch-diocese *ad honorem*, subjected all the Syrian congregations of Malabar to its jurisdiction, and directed the use of the Latin rite. In the same year, or perhaps the following, His Holiness, Paul V., erected the see of St. Thomé at Meliapore, on the Coromandel coast, near Madras; and finally, in 1616, he granted to the King of Portugal the *jus patronatus* of both the new sees, in addition to the three former ones, *with a special clause that this privilege never should or could be revoked.*

The next event we have to notice, is the falling away of the Syrians from the faith, which after some previous indications finally took place in 1653. It seems, according to an incidental notice of Benedict XIV., which we shall hereafter have occasion to mention, that the Archdeacon of Cranganore, whose name was Thomas de Campo, was possessed of great influence among the Syrians; and that it was he who excited an opposition against the Archbishop, and finally induced a great number of his flock to withdraw themselves from his obedience. Four hundred families alone of the Syrians remained faithful; the rest renounced allegiance to the Pope and returned to their errors, setting up a bishop of their own and resuming their former rite.

It does not appear that the Portuguese clergy were in any way *culpably* connected with this schism, but as they

had been unable to prevent it, the Holy See thought it best to try some fresh means for bringing the Syrians back. In 1656, therefore, Alexander VII. sent out four Italian religious of the order of the discalced Carmelites, who commenced a mission in Malabar which exists to the present day. The accounts of their success during the first two years are various, some making it out to have been very great, others little or nothing; but at the end of that time two of them returned to Rome to give an account of the state of things to the Holy Father, who thereupon consecrated one of them, Father Joseph a Sancta Maria, Bishop of Hierapolis, and appointed him Vicar Apostolic of Malabar. This was in 1659. On his return it is agreed on all hands that he and his fellow-missionaries had wonderful success. They brought back to the faith two-thirds of the schismatics, and amongst them, Thomas de Campo himself. Nay, some accounts say that they quite subdued and extinguished the schism.

It is difficult to understand how a Vicar Apostolic could be sent to reside permanently in the diocese of another Bishop, and at the same time to be Vicar Apostolic of a district which included that diocese. Yet, however this is to be explained, neither the Bishop of Cochin, nor the Archbishop of Cranganore, seem to have manifested any jealousy or ill-feeling at this new arrangement. There was not however sufficient time to see whether things could go on so long, for at the beginning of the year 1663, the Dutch came down upon India and seized upon Cochin and Cranganore; and as they were hostile not only to the Portuguese but also to the religion which they professed, they destroyed the churches and banished the bishops and all the European priests, as well as the Jesuits, many of whom were natives. Only a few priests who were born in the country were allowed to remain. The Italian Vicar Apostolic, Dr. Joseph, endeavoured at first to continue living secretly among the Indians; but as they were afraid to shelter him any longer, he retired, leaving his religious behind; and Rome having from the first invested him with extraordinarily ample powers, he determined to appoint in his place a bishop whose presence the Dutch would tolerate. For this purpose he selected a Syrian priest named Alexander, cousin of Thomas de Campo, consecrated him Bishop of Magara, and placed him as Vicar Apostolic in his

own stead. And thus things continued for some time; no Portuguese bishop or priest was permitted to remain within the Dutch dominions up to the end of this century, and the native priests of European origin who remained, were obliged to take an oath that they would hold no communion with the enemies of Holland.

In the "Portuguese Schism Unfolded," we find it hinted that the Popes, Clement VIII. and Paul V., had been obliged to make some statement or representation to the Portuguese Government respecting the East India Missions, as if all had not gone on pleasantly there; but the earliest definite notice we can find of any want of due submission to the Holy See on the part of the Portuguese, is in a Bull of Pope Clement X. to the Archbishop of Goa, "in consequence of the iniquitous vexations committed long since by the tribunal of the inquisition of Goa and its officials and commissioners, against the deputies of the Holy See and the Apostolic Missionaries in Cambodia, Pegu, and other places in the East Indies," whither some French Missionaries had been sent by the Holy See.

The following is a translation of this Bull—

"To our Venerable Brother the Archbishop of Goa, or our beloved Children, the Chapter of the same Cathedral,

"POPE CLEMENT THE TENTH.

"Venerable Brother, or Beloved Children, Health, &c.,

"Whereas we have learned by letters transmitted to us from the East Indies, that the Pontifical Bulls granted to the French Bishops, sent *immediately* by this Holy See into the East Indies, were declared surreptitious by you, the officials of both (See and Chapter); and, likewise, that some of your Clergy residing at Siam have acted contumeliously, especially against the Bishop Beritensis, not only by forcing him to exhibit his Bulls, as if he were *immediately* subject to the Chapter, and not to this Holy See; but also by excommunicating and fining in a penalty of two hundred pieces of money all those Christians who should have intercourse with him; we could not but explain to you by these letters the deep grief we felt on account thereof, and at the same time inform you, that the news of the annoyance given to the Apostolic Missionaries by your Clergy appeared so incredible, that were it not confirmed by the faithful testimony of credible persons, we could on no account be induced to believe it.

"But because we easily persuade ourselves that you and your officials acted in such a manner rather in ignorance of the truth,

than out of any disobedience towards the Holy See, we have every hope that it will come to pass that the authenticity of the Bulls which have emanated from this Holy See being understood, and our decision in this matter clearly manifested, all things may in future tend to the glory of God and the advantage of the Oriental Church.

“Therefore, declaring the above-named French Bishop to be *immediately* subject to this Holy See, we, by our Apostolical Authority, command you to prohibit the above-named officials, under the most severe penalties, and particularly the privation of their office, from daring in future to exercise any act of jurisdiction against the above-named Vicars Apostolic and their missionaries outside the temporal dominions of the king of Portugal; but they should treat them with peculiar respect, as being *immediately* dependent upon this Holy See; and aid their pious endeavours in a becoming and charitable manner.

“Meanwhile, fully expecting from the above-named Vicars Apostolic better accounts of your respect for the Pontifical Bulls, we with our whole soul impart to your fraternity, or to you, beloved children, the Apostolical benediction.

“Given at Rome under the Ring of the Fisherman, on the 10th day of November, 1673, of our Pontificate the 4th.”

It is curious that this Bull reprehends the Archbishop for venturing to exercise any act of jurisdiction *outside the dominions of the King of Portugal*, seeming to imply, that the extent of the diocese which had been erected, was limited by the extent of the Portuguese dominions; whereas it would appear, that the Portuguese Priests had been spreading themselves over India without ceasing to be subject to the Archbishop of Goa. But we shall see hereafter, that the first Vicar Apostolic of Bengal quoted the above Bull as limiting the power of the Archbishop of Goa to the Portuguese dominions, and taking away a jurisdiction over even distant parts of India, which he undeniably possessed before. But what then was to become of the sees of Cochin and Cranganore, which were now no longer Portuguese dominions? We shall see what happened.

The Syrian Vicar Apostolic of Malabar, Alexander, was first assisted, and then succeeded, by a Priest named Raphael Figuerado, of Portuguese extraction, but born in the country. Yet though of very high private character, he used his authority so badly, that the Holy See was obliged to withdraw it from him altogether, although he died in 1695 before the decree was put into execution.

But the Holy See had learnt by this time, that it would not do to put a native at the head of affairs in India. It therefore solicited the Dutch Government, in 1698, to tolerate the presence of a European bishop and a certain number of missionaries. This was granted, but the number of missionaries was not to be greater than twelve, and both they and the bishop were to be discaled Carmelites of the Belgian, German, or Italian nations, and no others. Innocent XII. appointed accordingly one of the missionaries, F. Francis of St. Theresa, to be bishop of Metellopolis and Vicar Apostolic of all Malabar.

It was then that the Schismatic spirit began more definitely to show itself. In the year 1699, thirty-seven years after the expulsion of the Jesuits and European priests, a new Bishop of Cochin made his appearance in some of the small towns of the south, and immediately raised a cry against this intrusion, as he considered it, into his diocese, though the diocese had remained vacant for nearly forty years, and no Portuguese bishop was permitted to reside there. Shortly after, in 1702, a new Bishop of Cranganore likewise appeared, and combined with his colleague, the Bishop of Cochin, against the Vicar Apostolic. The Syrians in consequence became obstinate in their schism, and but few conversions were made from among them. The Metropolitan of Goa, too, was not long in taking part with his suffragans. The three prelates conjointly sent in their complaints to the court of Lisbon; and that government made a representation of the matter to the Holy See, and requested that the Vicar Apostolic and his missionaries might be recalled, since their presence was a violation of the right of patronage possessed by Portugal. This remonstrance induced Clement XI. to restrict the authority which his predecessors had given to the Vicar Apostolic over all Malabar, and he therefore by a Brief of 1709, ordained "that the Vicar Apostolic should exercise his jurisdiction only in those places where the Portuguese bishops could not exercise theirs in all its plenitude, and amongst that part of the population which should be exposed at any time to the danger of falling into schism." But notwithstanding this most equitable and considerate arrangement, the Portuguese bishops were still dissatisfied and continued to make complaints, both to the court of Lisbon and the Holy See; and as these received no longer any attention, they could only wreak their spite, as they

did in every way, upon the Vicar Apostolic and his missionaries.

The next eighty or ninety years are almost barren of any event that affects our present subject, though in the political world there were changes and commotions enough. During this period it was, that Lord Clive and Warren Hastings were extending British dominion over the vast tracts of country which are now in our possession. All this, however, so engrossed the attention of those who were on the spot, that they seem to have had no leisure to make any fresh attacks. The only things we have to record are that, in 1741, Pegu, which had been attached by Paul V. to the Bishopric of Meliapore, was erected into a separate Vicariate Apostolic; in 1765 a decree was passed in Portugal under Don Joseph I. ordaining that no rescript or Bull of the court of Rome should have any force over Portuguese subjects till it had first been sanctioned by the royal approbation; in 1777, the Vicariate of Pondicherry was erected; and in 1778, the Jesuits were suppressed in India.

We have now to turn our attention to what took place with respect to the other See of St. Thomé of Meliapore on the Coromandel coast; for with respect to Malabar, however little the Portuguese priests might relish giving up their ancient jurisdiction, they could not but submit to the arrangement Clement XI. had made, backed as it had hitherto been by the jealousy of the civil power, which prevented them from so much as entering the territories they desired to govern.

During this long period, however, in which things were outwardly so much more quiet, the Portuguese priests had not been altogether inactive. The Episcopal governors of Cranganore and Cochin, had been sending their emissaries into the missions to the East of the Ghauts, between the coasts of Malabar and Coromandel, and had done so much mischief, that on a representation made to Rome, the sacred congregation wrote in 1833 to the Vicar Apostolic of Malabar, to direct his attention to them. The latter applied in consequence to the Vicar Apostolic of Pondicherry, who had a great many French priests at his disposal, to send a few to the missions that most needed them, which he accordingly did. But these missionaries were cruelly persecuted and imprisoned by the intrigues of the Episcopal Administrator of Cochin.

It may perhaps have been in consequence of this, that the Holy See, feeling that some active measures must now be taken to restrain the power of the Portuguese priests, and to provide for the miserable destitution of the districts under their care, erected, by a Bull of April the 18th, 1834, a new Vicariate Apostolic in Bengal, by taking this province from the diocese of St. Thomé, of Meliapore, and entrusting it to the care of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus. By another Bull of the 25th of the same month, Madras was also erected into a Vicariate Apostolic. But the new Vicar, Dr. O'Connor, no sooner came there than he experienced the most violent opposition from Fre Manoel de Ave Maria, who had been appointed Administrator of Meliapore in 1820, and who now took possession of some churches of the Capuchins and refused to give them up.

Meliapore is a place of inconsiderable size near Madras, but its cathedral church St. Thomé was said to possess the body of the Apostle St. Thomas, and its bishop extended his jurisdiction over all Bengal, as well as the Coromandel coast. Hence, when these two new Vicariates were erected, the Episcopal Administrator of Meliapore backed the opposition which was raised in both these places to the proposed abridgement of his power. But for the sake of clearness we must give a separate account of each.

The Brief erecting the Vicariate of Bengal, was directed to Dr. St. Leger, of the Society of Jesus, and appointed him the first Vicar Apostolic. As however it contains nothing particularly connected with the schism, we do not think it necessary to transcribe it. The nature and extent of Dr. St. Leger's jurisdiction are in it very clearly set forth. He was "to extend and uphold the Catholic Religion in the populous city of Calcutta, and the political presidency annexed to it," those places excepted which were administered by the Vicar Apostolic of Thibet and Pegu. Dr. St. Leger did not doubt that all it concerned would obey his lawful authority. How grievously he was disappointed, we learn from the "Colonial Catholic Intelligencer."

"In a short time, a most determined opposition was made, so that Dr. St. Leger was compelled to assert his rights. This assertion of rights was met by the assurance, that when his claims were made good, they would immediately be admitted. But a short time only elapsed, when the following edital was sent from Melia-

pore by Fre Manoel de Ave Maria, exhorting the Catholic community in Calcutta to follow in the footsteps of the Augustinian Friars, by disobeying the Pope, to consider as an usurper the Vicar Apostolic, and finally, to withhold every acknowledgment of him until the Portuguese government should ratify the appointment."—p. 401.

The following is Fre Manoel's letter :

"Fre Manoel de Ave Maria, D.D., Ex-Provincial of the Hermits of the Order of St. Augustine, Syndical Examiner of the Archbishop of Goa, Ecclesiastical Governor and Episcopal Administrator of the Bishopric of S. Thomé of Meliapore, &c.

"To all who may see these presents, health and peace in Jesus Christ.

"1. It has been reported to us that a Vicar Apostolic, sent by his Holiness, has arrived at Calcutta, who intends to assume all the authority of the Bishopric of Meliapore, insomuch that he has already addressed a letter to the Rev. Vicar of Boitecanah, intimating to him, that all the Reverend Vicars of that mission should administer the Sacraments under his jurisdiction from the first of January, 1835, usurping, by this proceeding, the right of the said Bishopric, which was erected in 1606 by his Holiness Paul V. of happy memory, at the entreaty of Philip, king of Portugal and Algarves.

"With these, the Pope and the king prescribed that the kingdom of Bengal should belong to the spiritual jurisdiction of the aforesaid Bishopric, which is clearly evinced from the fourth paragraph of the Bull directing its establishment, which has been recognized and observed since its foundation, until the present day.

"2. But as from the usurpation of authority great dissensions, contentions, scandals, and at last, a schism may arise, we therefore make known to all our subjects, as well ecclesiastical as secular, that we are obliged, in the first place, to protest against this said proceeding of the most Rev. Vicar Apostolic ; and secondly, to appeal to the most excellent and most Rev. Archbishop of Goa, the metropolitan of this Bishopric.

"3. Moreover, we make known to all our subjects, and the Rev. Vicar of the mission of Bengal, that his Holiness Paul V. of happy memory, declares, in the sixth paragraph of his Bull of erection, that the Holy See of Rome could not deprive for any reason the said Philip, king of Portugal and Algarves, and his successors, of the right of Patronage, and that the said king should never consider himself deprived of it without his own express consent to it ; but if in any way he should have been deprived by the Holy See of Rome, such deprivation ought to be considered of no force or efficacy. Moreover, whatever bull or brief might come from the

Holy See of Rome without the express consent of the said king of Portugal and Algarves, or his successors, it should be null and void.

"4. On the other hand, as Portuguese subjects, we are strictly bound to obey the laws of our kingdom, and the decrees of his most faithful majesty; and one of these decrees of the time of Lord Don Joseph the First, of happy memory, bearing date 6th May 1765, ordains, that no rescript, constitution, or Bull of the court of Rome shall have any force, or subject to it any Portuguese subjects, without having first been sanctioned by the royal approbation, and this under penalty of disnaturalization. We hope, therefore, that every one will have in view this decree, as well as that which is contained in the sixth paragraph of the Bull above mentioned.

"5. And therefore we do ordain to all Rev. Vicars at Calcutta not to acknowledge the most Rev. Vicar Apostolic as the ordinary of that place, until this point is decided either by our Metropolitan, or by the Court of Portugal, to which we have also transmitted an account of this affair.

"6 These presents shall be read in all the churches of the said mission three Sundays successively before the Parochial Mass, and our most Rev. Provisor will inform us of the due execution of the same.

"Given at St. Thomé, in Meliapore, the 3rd day of December, 1834.

("Signed,)

FRE MANUEL DE AVE MARIA,

"Episcopal Governor."—pp. 401-2.

Upon receiving this manifesto, Dr. St. Leger addressed a temperate but most forcible letter to the Catholics under his jurisdiction, warning them against being misled by the pretended authority of the Episcopal Governor of Meliapore. "If," he says, "the jurisdiction which was vested in the Archbishop of Goa, had subsisted unimpaired till the issuing of the above mentioned brief [appointing him Vicar Apostolic,] it would be hazardous, nay, inexcusable to refuse a ready obedience to it. *But when it is an undeniable fact, that all this jurisdiction was taken away by Clement X, so far back as the year 1673, it is proceeding after the manner of avowed schismatics to maintain it at the present day.*" As the letter is long and does not contain anything immediately relating to the history of the schism, we have thought it sufficient to quote the foregoing passage, and must refer our readers to the Colonial Intelligencer for this and other documents.

All this, however, was of no avail. The clergy of

Bengal continued to hold out most obstinately, and nothing could bring them to a sense of their duty. But the positive assertions they continue to make, induced the Vicar Apostolic to believe that it was merely the supposed inefficiency of his Patents, which delayed the assent of some of the clergy of Calcutta to his claim of jurisdiction. And he was assured by many persons, that from what they themselves had repeatedly heard these priests say, such was really the case. He therefore represented to the Holy Father, the difficulty under which these priests considered themselves to labour, and humbly begged that a clear decision of the matter might be forwarded without delay. Whilst waiting for an answer to this application, which would take away every plausible pretext for refusing obedience, Dr. St. Leger received from the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda a letter to the following effect:—

“ Most Reverend Father,

“ It will, I make no doubt, prove very acceptable to you to receive enclosed in this letter a decree in which is contained the explicit declaration of our Most Holy Father, Gregory PP. XVI. that all the churches, even those of the Fathers of the Order of S. Augustine in Calcutta, now existing in that Vicariate, or which may at any future time be erected in it, are under the jurisdiction of the Vicar Apostolic of Calcutta, and are so to remain. I esteem it certain, that after this so clear declaration of the Sovereign Pontiff's will, every ground of dissent on that subject will be removed.”

And enclosed was the following:

“ *Decree of the Sacred Congregation de Propaganda Fide.*

“As our Most Holy Father Gregory PP. XVI. has, by his Apostolic letter of the 18th April, 1834, erected an Apostolical Vicariate, comprehending the city of Calcutta and the political presidency attached thereto, it is clear that all the churches in that city, and in the district belonging to the same political presidency, are subject to the jurisdiction of the Rev. P. Robert St. Leger, of the Society of Jesus, Presbyter, the Vicar Apostolic constituted by his Holiness. But the Sacred Congregation de Propaganda Fide, wishing that the same should be declared by Apostolical authority, in order to take away every possible occasion of contention, judged and decreed that the holy Father be supplicated to deign through its secretary, the most Rev. Prelate Angelo Mai, to make a manifest declaration of his will regarding this matter.

“Our most Holy Father, therefore, in an audience granted to the same most Rev. Prelate, the Secretary to the Sacred Congregation,

on the 22nd of December, declared in the clearest and most express terms, that all churches, even those of the Fathers of the Order of St. Augustine in the city of Calcutta, and the political presidency annexed to it, as well those now existing, as those at a future period to be built, are, and are to remain under the jurisdiction of the Vicar Apostolic.

"Wherefore, that to all residing in that Vicariate, the final declaration of his Holiness' will may be known, the Sacred Congregation ordered that the above-mentioned declaration of the Holy Father be made manifest by a public decree.

"Given at Rome in the office of the said Congregation, 27th December, 1834, Gratis, &c.

"S. Ph. Card. Fransonius, Præf.

"A. Mai, Secretary."—p 408.

An authenticated copy of this decision was sent to the clergy; but instead of submitting, they returned a most positive refusal to obey, in a letter sent by Frè Manoel. The defence which they offered for this conduct, was the right which had been granted in certain concordats by the Holy See to Portugal, and which we have referred to above.

Here, however, another interest came in. For if the English Government would not acknowledge the authority of any foreign prince or potentate within British dominions, not even the spiritual authority of the Pope, much less would it acknowledge that of the king of Portugal, which was altogether a temporal one. Dr. St. Leger therefore, with that prudence which distinguished his entire conduct in India, wrote to the Governor General in Council, with a petition from a large and influential body of Catholics, and enclosing the copy of a letter from the Governor of Goa, requesting to know whether his Excellency would recognise him, a British subject, as the head of the Catholics, or the clergy appointed and sent by the Queen of Portugal. Lord William Bentinck returned a very satisfactory answer, recognising the Vicar Apostolic as the 'Head of the Roman Catholics' in that presidency, and promising such support and countenance as was consistent with liberty of conscience to all. And, after expressing his satisfaction at seeing the control and charge of 'the Roman Catholics' of Bengal in the hands of a subject of the British crown, and using some very complimentary terms to Dr. St. Leger himself, he concluded by saying, that "to the request of the Governor of Goa, that matters

should be kept in suspense until the question at issue can be referred to Europe to be submitted to their respective sovereigns, his Lordship in council has made answer that he cannot recognize immediately any authority in the head of the Portuguese nation, to regulate any matter, spiritual or temporal, within the British territory; but that the government has no intention or desire to interfere with existing rights." The date of this letter was the 26th of January, 1835, and it seems to have set the question at rest in that quarter; at least, matters seem to have been more quiet, after the Portuguese and their adherents found that the Government was so decided against them.

We have next to follow the course of events at Madras, where the contest came to a more decided issue than any where else. The Vicariate Apostolic of that district, was erected, as we have said before, in 1834. But it was not till the end of the year 1835, that the Vicar of St. Thomé, Frè Manoel de Ave Maria, sent a letter to certain gentlemen attached to the church of St. John at Madras, which they submitted to Dr. O'Connor for perusal. It contains the following passage, which, as also most of the other documents, we extract from the Colonial Intelligencer.

"We have heard it said that signatures of the inhabitants of Madras are being obtained to deliver the Church of St. John to his Excellency, Dr. O'Connor. *Risum teneatis amici*. What right or power will these signatures give to dispose of our property or of this Bishopric? We do not, nor can we acknowledge his Excellency, Dr. O'Connor, as Vicar Apostolic of the Missions of the Capuchins at Madras, inasmuch as his brief is *obreptitious* or *subreptitious*, and for that reason of no authority. Moreover the said brief dismembers part of the territory of this Bishopric without hearing the parties concerned;—above all, without the express consent of the Crown of Portugal, to which the royal patronage of the said See was attached by the Bull of erection, published on the 9th January, 1606, by His Holiness, Paul V."—p. 410.

Dr. O'Connor thought it well to make an extraordinary effort to bring about a peaceable termination to this unhappy dispute. Accordingly, on the 6th of January, 1836, he waited upon the Vicar of St. Thomé, who was in a very bad state of health. He was received very amicably; but as he was not acquainted with the Portuguese language, he carried with him a letter in Latin, which having read he left with him. This letter we shall not transcribe,

as it does not enter into the question of the rights of the case, but is only an earnest exhortation to fraternal concord and peace, and is full of affection and kindly feeling.

Immediately after this visit, information arrived from Calcutta, that Dr. St. Leger, after many efforts to effect an amicable adjustment of the dispute, had felt it to be his duty to declare those persons who opposed the Papal Supremacy in the exercise of its jurisdiction, and their abettors, to be schismatics, and to have incurred the penalties awarded to such by the Church. The Vicar Apostolic of Bengal, in the name of Jesus Christ and of the Vicar of Christ, commanded all to abstain from going to their churches, or receiving the sacraments at their hands. In consequence of this, the *Very Rev. Mr. Moriarty was directed to wait* upon the *Very Rev. Frè Manoel*, to confer with him in the first instance, upon the impropriety of his usurpation of the rights of the Madras Mission, in the case of the churches of St. John and of Parcherry, in the town of Madras, and beyond the acknowledged boundary of the *jurisdiction of St. Thomé*, and subsequently to try to induce him to stop the unworthy opposition which had been raised in Bengal against the Supreme Head of the Church. What occurred in Mr. Moriarty's conference has been given to the public in his own words, and is to be found at length in the Colonial Intelligencer. We are obliged here for want of room to content ourselves with a summary.

Agreeably to the instructions of the Vicar Apostolic, Mr. Moriarty waited on the Vicar of St. Thomé, and used every argument of entreaty and persuasion to induce him to cease his opposition to the Holy See. The Vicar was evidently a good deal shaken by some of the arguments urged upon him, but he seemed afraid of offending the king of Portugal, to whom he had, he said, to render an account. So that Mr. Moriarty was at length obliged to take his departure without any definite answer, but with the promise of one shortly. He left with him a letter from Dr. O'Connor, written in a very similar strain of argument and entreaty, and said he hoped he should soon hear from him. After a few days Mr. Moriarty again called upon Mr. Lobo, the Vicar's principal priest, to learn the result.

"I told him," says Mr. Moriarty, "that I was very anxious to know how the Vicar intended acting in consequence of the remon-

stances made to him verbally by me, and through a letter by Dr. O'Connor. Mr. Lobo said that the Vicar did not acquaint him with any answer, but that he would make a visit, or write in a few days to Dr. O'Connor. However, in the course of conversation, Mr. Lobo told me that the Vicar had said to him, that he was *now* committed to the crown of Portugal, on account of the appeal which he had made, and should await its decision ; moreover, that he was bound by oath when sent to Meliapore by the Abp. of Goa, *not to allow any injury, such as a partition of the diocese of St. Thomé.* I replied, that no oath could take away the supreme spiritual authority of the Holy See, as the ultimate object of such oaths was the maintenance of its authority in the welfare of the universal church."

Immediately after, Dr. O'Connor received the following letter :

"To his Excellency, Dr. O'Connor, &c., &c., &c.

"Most Reverend Sir,

"I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's letter of the 23rd instant, *which has been handed to me personally by the Rev. Mr. Moriarty.* and I should have answered it at the time if I had not been indisposed.

"I am exceedingly sorry that I cannot embrace your Excellency's advice, to order the Rev. Augustinian missionaries at Bengal to submit to Dr. St. Leger ; because, by my doing so, I should certainly break the oath which I have taken to defend the rights of *this Bishopric intrusted to my care ;* whereas, I should be, at the same time, a traitor to the crown of Portugal, as the Holy Father Paul V. of glorious memory, granted to the king of Portugal and his successors, *as the great master of the order of Christ, Jus Patronatus,* over all the Catholic churches of India. In the sixth paragraph of the Bull of erection of this Bishopric, the same Holy Father says, *that the Holy See of Rome cannot derogate that right* without an express consent of the same King of Portugal and his successors ; and should the Holy See do anything contrary, it shall be of no force and effect. Its extract I beg to enclose herein for your Excellency's information. No one, much more myself, (who venerate the mandates of the Holy See,) can doubt of the power of the Sovereign Pontiff to separate the territory of any Bishopric ; *but this right and power he has given up by the same paragraph of the Bull above-mentioned.*

"Respecting the two churches of Parcherry and St. John's, which your Excellency requests to be delivered up to your Excellency, I regret I cannot at present assent to your Excellency's wish and desire in consequence. I have already made known all these transactions to the court of Portugal, sending thither an express ambassador, and until I receive any decision from the above-men-

tioned court, I cannot act contrary ; therefore, the present affairs may be in statu quo.

"I have the honour to be, Most Rev. Sir,

"Your Excellency's faithful Brother in Christ

"And humble Servant,

"FRE MANUEL DE AVE MARIA,

"St. Thomé, 28th Jan., 1836.

Acting Bishop."

When the decree of the Pope had been received, Mr. Moriarty was commissioned by the Vicar Apostolic *to take a copy of it to the Vicar of St. Thomé*, which he did on the 15th of February, but not being able to see the Vicar, he left it with Mr. Lobo, who read it in his presence. Mr. Moriarty states, that he is certain from Mr. Lobo's manner and tone of expression, that he felt convinced all pretext for resisting the Holy See was now removed. *He said, however, that he would give the document to the Vicar, but that these things required much consideration.* Mr. Moriarty replied, that much consideration had already been given by the Holy See, and that the only two objections which had been raised as an excuse for not submitting to the Holy See, *had now been answered; these two points being the Bull of Pope Paul V. and the right of presentation by the Crown of Portugal.*

"On the 19th," (Mr. Moriarty continues,) "the Rev. Mr. Lobo called on me, and informed me that the Vicar of St. Thomé having read the letter of the Pope, declared that he revered the Holy Father as the head of the church, and that all that was required for his concurrence in the new order of things, was the consent of the crown of Portugal, and as soon as a bit of paper containing that consent should arrive, he would submit with the most profound respect to whatever the Pope should order ; but that until such consent arrived, he would not take notice of any Bulls, briefs, rescripts, &c., coming from the Holy Father."

Upon this, Dr. O'Connor perceiving that there was now no longer any hope of an amicable arrangement of affairs, gave official notice to the Clergy of Parcherry and St. John's, that they had no jurisdiction over the people belonging to those districts, and were liable to all the consequences of acting without it. *Two or three months after this, Dr. O'Connor received from the Vicar Apostolic of Bengal, a copy of his Holiness's final and confirmatory decree, dated 4th of August 1835. It begins by*

referring to all that had been already done by the Holy See, in appointing a Vicar Apostolic of Bengal, and afterwards, by the confirmatory decree dated 27th of December 1837, *declaring most clearly the extent of his jurisdiction*; and after expressing the greatest surprise that any opposition should be made to the arrangements which His Holiness had thought fit to make, proceeds as follows:

"It was clear from the tenor and context of our Apostolical letters, that a form of ecclesiastical government entirely different from that which before existed in those countries, had been established by us. We were induced to determine on effecting that object by reason of the vicissitudes of human events which have rendered the relative situation in temporal matters, and the political relations of those countries, far different from what they were in the days of Paul V. our predecessor; but we were still more strongly moved to it, because it was clear to us beyond the possibility of doubt, that the Catholic religion would be reduced in those countries to a state of extreme peril, if, from the plenitude of our power—a power to feed, direct, and govern the universal church, which, unworthy though we are, has been committed by God to us in the person of St. Peter—we should not immediately, and without any delay whatsoever, apply an opportune and radically efficacious remedy to evils of such great magnitude and consequence. Although the clearness of the case precludes the probability of erring, we wish, nevertheless, to take totally away every plea that may be derived for disturbing order and tranquillity. Having, therefore, possessed ourselves fully of the merits of the case, after mature deliberation, we declare by our Apostolical authority, *that we have derogated, and by these presents a derogation is effected, of the provisions made by Paul V. our predecessor, in the year 1606, in as far as he decreed that the authority or rights of the Bishop of St. Thomé of Meliapore should extend to Bengal, or to any other place assigned by us in our Apostolical letters of the 18th April, 1834, to the Vicar Apostolic appointed by us in Calcutta. We ratify and affirm anew our declaration, that our beloved son, Robert St. Leger whom we have appointed our Vicar Apostolic at Calcutta, and all others who in future times shall be there similarly constituted by the Apostolical See, are dependent on the same Apostolical See only; that neither the Bishop of Meliapore nor his administrators, or any other Bishop, has jurisdiction in the countries assigned to the Vicar Apostolic; and that the same Vicar Apostolic is authorized legally and of right to hold the title of Vicar Apostolic of Bengal; and that he alone is the true ordinary of the above-mentioned places, and to be held as such by all; and that all owe obedience to him, and from him are to receive ecclesiastical jurisdiction and faculties.*"

During the following six months, Dr. O'Connor could do nothing more than continue to warn his clergy and people not to recognize the jurisdiction of Meliapore, as *having fallen into schism in its head, and being disaffected towards the Holy See.* But on the death of Frè Manoel de Ave Maria, on the fifth August, 1836, fearing that they would elect the leader of the schism as his successor, unless he could within the eight canonical days interfere, as the nearest Vicar Apostolic, to supply the vacant diocese, he issued the following notice:

"As Episcopal Vicar Apostolic of Madras, I do hereby give this canonical notice to the clergy and people of that part of the former diocese of St. Thomé, otherwise Meliapore, within the presidency of Madras, that I am their only lawful Ecclesiastical Superior, and that the said clergy are hereby required to receive jurisdiction from me, and to make immediate application for the same.

"Given at Madras this 8th day of August, 1836.

"DANIEL O'CONNOR, V. A. of Madras.

"F. E. MORIARTY, Secretary."

Dr. O'Connor used the terms "former diocese" in this advertisement, because he considered Meliapore to have forfeited its canonical privileges, as a diocese, by the schism, and so to have become a missionary district; and as a missionary district, he was to exercise jurisdiction herein, till otherwise provided for by the Holy See.

The clergy of Meliapore made the following reply:

"Right Rev. Sir,

"We, the undersigned, have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's letter of the 8th instant, wherein your Excellency claims the right of spiritual jurisdiction and superiority over the diocese of St. Thomé: we do not know upon what grounds. The existing circumstances are the same as they were when your Excellency arrived at Madras: we all are the subjects of the See of St. Thomé, we all consider ourselves bound to obey the lawful and only prelate of that See, the Rev. Fre Antonio de Assumpção, successor of our late acting Bishop, Fre Manuel de Ave Maria, and present provisor and administrator of the same see, and none other. We all have lawful jurisdiction to exercise the functions of our respective ministry, and for the sake of peace, we expect your Excellency will not trouble us all any further on the subject. And if your Excellency shall trouble us any more, we will be compelled to give your Excellency no answer.

"We all remain, Right Rev. Sir,

"Your humble and obedient Servants,

"Signed by seven of the principal priests.

"St. Thomé, 12th August, 1836."

How little the Portuguese government were disposed to give way in the matter, was evident from the following paragraph that appeared in the Conservative newspaper of the 29th September:

"The *Sesostria* brings the news of the appointment of Don Antonio as Bishop of Meliapore, by the Queen of Portugal. He was, when that ship sailed, in London, from which place he would sail after having been introduced by the Portuguese ambassador to Lord Palmerston, and our new governor."

This Don Antonio is the same as Anthony Texeira, an Augustinian priest of Goa, who, shortly after Madras was erected into a vicariate, had made a voyage to Lisbon, and had there obtained the title of Bishop elect of Meliapore. He arrived at Madras, 2nd October, 1836, and immediately convoked the clergy of that diocese, and caused the decree of Donna Maria to be read, naming him Bishop of Meliapore. He then called on the chapter of Goa to acknowledge him, and cause him to be acknowledged, and, in short, took solemn possession of his diocese. During the whole course of the ceremonial, the Pope's name was not so much as once mentioned. The Portuguese clergy being already implicated in the schism, of course adhered to him, as they still continue to do.

We have still to notice the progress of the schism in another place. It was just at the close of the events we have related, in December, 1836, that Gregory XVI. dismembered the island of Ceylon from the diocese of Cochin, and erected it into a new vicariate Apostolic. We find in the annals of the propagation of the faith, that,

"For a great many years the mission of that island had been exclusively confided to the religious of St. Philip of Goa; they were all Indians. One of them in quality of Vicar General of Cochin, governed all the churches. The individual who at this period was charged with this authority, and who had exercised it for a long time, was raised by the sovereign Pontiff to the dignity of Bishop, and Vicar Apostolic; he was proclaimed and recognized as such in the principal church of Colombo, the capital of the island. But no sooner was the ecclesiastical administrator of the diocese informed of this measure, than he fulminated many sentences against the new elect, deposed him from his charge of Vicar General, appointed another to succeed him, and at the same time excited the faithful to disobey the elect of the sovereign Pontiff.

The schismatical Vicar General found two priests and a considerable number of laymen disposed to take part with him; and thus commenced a new schism, the effect of which was to prevent the consecration of the new Bishop, until the month of December, 1838."—No. 3, pp. 154—155.

The Ecclesiastical Administrator of Cochin here referred to was Father Manoel de St. Joachim Neves, a Dominican; and the first Vicar Apostolic, was Dr. Rosario, a Portuguese of the Congregation of St. Philip Neri, who has since been succeeded by the Right Rev. Caetano Antonio. The two schismatic priests are still living in the island, with their adherents; but the influence of these two priests is now very small, and the number of their adherents is daily diminishing, so that if all the rest continue loyal and attached to the Holy See, there is nothing to be feared from them.

In November, 1837, a secular priest named Antony Felician Calvalho, a Portuguese by birth, arrived at Goa, with the usurped title of Archbishop Elect of Goa and Primate of the East. He had received this title from the Portuguese Government, and was of course supported by the Governor of Goa. No sooner had he arrived than he caused the lawful Vicar Capitular to be deposed and himself named in his place. The Administrator of Cochin, above-mentioned, hastened to acknowledge him, and he was recognized in all the Portuguese possessions. Thus the three Portuguese dioceses of Meliapore, Cochin, and Goa, were at this time in direct and open opposition to the Holy See. The Administrator of Cranganore, however, Father John de Porto Peixatto, a Portuguese Franciscan, though he fell at first into the schism, yet did so only through ignorance, and was immediately reclaimed by the Vicar Apostolic of Malabar, who gave him a true account of the matter. He was about to direct a circular to all in his diocese, ordering them to submit to the Vicar Apostolic, when he was prevented by death. This had no sooner happened, than Father Neves sent his emissaries in all directions to induce the whole diocese to acknowledge obedience to him, or at least to suspend their determination till orders should be received from Goa. In this way he succeeded in getting all but a few parishes to acknowledge his jurisdiction, and in the beginning of the month of September, letters patent arrived from Calvalho,

the pretended Administrator of Goa, constituting him Archiepiscopal Administrator of the Dioceses of Cranganore and Cochin. Thus the fourth Portuguese diocese in the continent of India was in schism.

In the meantime, that is to say during some part of *the year 1837*, His Holiness's "*final decision and salutary warning*," bearing date 4th of January of the same year, was received. In it His Holiness, after deploring the obstinacy of the schismatics in still continuing to resist the repeated declarations of the Holy See, goes on to speak of the destitute condition in which the Presidency of Calcutta had been left, and the urgent necessity there was of something being done—

"Another truly grievous calamity," he proceeds, "excited our solicitude, that the Episcopal Sees of the Portuguese in India *want pastors now so long, and seem to be likely to want them*, especially on account of the disturbed state of that kingdom, and the revolutions of its dominions beyond the seas. But surely it could scarcely be brought to pass, that the See of St. Thomé, which also itself desires a Bishop now so many years, and has so few clergy, and which is so very far distant from the territory of Bengal, could supply to the innumerable people who surround the Ganges the rights and ministrations of the Catholic faith in the manner they require.

"What, therefore, the Roman Pontiffs, our predecessors, have so long ago done, seeing that they withdrew many kingdoms and provinces of the East from the Portuguese sees from the like causes, and assigned them to Vicars Apostolic to be governed more faithfully, it has become absolutely necessary that we should do now the same in like manner, that we should not leave destitute of *a suitable provision the flock entrusted to us by Christ*. Moreover, beloved children, you have this our will sufficiently made known to you; first, indeed, from pontifical letters dated 18th April, 1834, by which we have instituted with general power the Vicar Apostolic of Calcutta; next, from the decree of the Congregation de Propaganda Fide, published by our order Dec. 27th 1834, whereby, to set at rest the disputes which arose, we have expressly declared that all the churches of Calcutta are subjected to the same Vicar Apostolic; and finally, in the third place, from the Apostolic constitution of the 4th August, 1835, in which we have explained and confirmed still more fully what had been done and pronounced, all ancient prerogatives and constitutions whatsoever, to have been expressly abrogated."

There is little to record during the early part of 1838, besides what we have mentioned. Fresh acts of schism were continually being committed by the Portuguese priests on

the one side, while protestations and warnings were as *often renewed by the Vicars Apostolic on the other.* But it is consoling to know that during this time many Goanese priests, as well as many thousands of their adherents, were reclaimed from their schism. The 4th of September, however, brought the Encyclical letter of the Pope, dated 24th of April, 1838, and beginning "*Multa præclare.*" *By this Bull the four sees of Cranganore, Cochin, Meliapore, and Malacca, which had now ceased to be in the possession of the Portuguese, and the three first of which had come into English hands, were suppressed, and the territories belonging to them subjected to the jurisdiction of the nearest Vicar Apostolic. Moreover, the Metropolitan authority of Goa over the territory of the suppressed dioceses was taken away, and the extent of the jurisdiction of the Vicars Apostolic was defined. And thus the authority of Father Neves as legal Administrator of Cochin, as well as that of all others who held any Ecclesiastical office in those dioceses by virtue of an appointment from Portugal, ceased. Yet neither he nor the rest took any more notice of this, than of the other decrees of the Holy See, but opposed the execution of them in every manner, and endeavoured to make others do the same.*

There still, however, remained the See of Goa, which though at the present moment in an irregular and schismatical state, yet possessed inherently as such certain rights and privileges until it should be suppressed. And it would, of course, be more difficult to carry into effect a decree for its suppression, because the territory of Goa still belonged to the Crown of Portugal, which would uphold its own nominee and stand out for the privileges formerly granted to it. Calvalho, the Archbishop-elect, as he pretended to be, died in February, 1839; and this had given rise to a fresh dispute. He who upon the arrival of Calvalho had resigned the title of Vicar Capitular, resumed it upon his death; while the Chapter opposed his pretensions and appealed to the decision of the Queen of Portugal. The Vicar Capitular also appealed, but wrote to the Sovereign Pontiff as well. In this state of things the Holy See entered into correspondence with the Government of Portugal, in order, if possible, to arrange matters peaceably. Mgr. Capaccini was sent as Nuncio to Lisbon, to endeavour to induce the Government to

give up some of the privileges they claimed with respect to the nomination of the Portuguese Bishops in India, and the extent of their jurisdiction. We suppose Portugal must have consented in some measure to the suppression of the four sees already mentioned; indeed, it could not well help itself, inasmuch as the territories in which these sees were situated were now no longer Portuguese possessions, and the English conquerors discountenanced the smallest interference or encroachment. But with respect to the Archbishopric of Goa, the Portuguese Government could not be persuaded to abate any of its pretensions, and insisted on the Bulls of appointment being made out in exactly the same style and wording as heretofore. At last it was agreed that this should be done; but Mgr. Capaccini had found a man to fill the See of Goa, in whom, as he thought, he could place the greatest reliance, and whom, at the same time, the Portuguese Government were willing to nominate; while the future Archbishop himself promised the greatest submission to the Holy See, and gave the strongest assurance that though the Bull of appointment was made out after the same form as heretofore, and conferred the same jurisdiction, yet that he would not act upon this nominal privilege, but would take that sense of the Bull which the Holy Father should put upon it. This is made evident from a passage in the explanatory brief to be immediately alluded to, in which His Holiness addresses himself to the Archbishop-elect as follows. We quote from "The Portuguese Schism Unfolded:"—

*"Your devoted attachment to the Roman Church, which was shown in your letter dated 3rd of the Ides of March, is fresh in our recollection, and it corresponds with the account given of you by our beloved Son Francis Capaccini, our ambassador and apostolic legate at Lisbon, who expressly stated among other matters the repeated declarations, by which you wished to assure us, that it was your firm and deliberate determination never to exercise any other authority but that given to you by us. This refers to what we decided on in our Apostolic letter, given under the ring of the fisherman, and bearing date the 24th day of April, 1838, commencing with the words *Multa Præclare*, and to the other decrees that have been or may be published regarding the administration of the Catholic affairs in certain countries, where, on account of the changed state of the times, the Archbishop of Goa could not easily nor sufficiently provide for the safety of souls."*—p. 17.

After taking all these precautions and receiving all possible assurances of the fidelity and attachment of the newly elected to the Holy See, His Holiness, Gregory XVI., by a Bull dated 19th June, 1843, confirmed the election of the Archbishop, the old form being preserved, which (nominally) gave him the same jurisdiction which had been granted to his predecessors. Immediately after, however, he sent to him the explanatory brief already quoted from, which is dated the 8th of July, and which clearly lays down the actual extent of his jurisdiction. This is likewise referred to in a letter from His Eminence, Cardinal Fransonì, dated 21st May, in the ensuing year, which contains the following passage,—

"Quamvis Pontificiæ Bullæ quibus in consistorio diei 19 Junii elapsi anni Sanctissimus Dominus delectum Archiepiscopum Goanum confirmavit eodem cancellariæ stylo, quo antiquitus expediri mos erat, exaratae fuerint, satis tamen sanctitas suæ memorato Archiepiscopo per Breve Epistolare diei 8 Julii mentem sensum (suam?) aperte declaravit, tum quoad sedis Archiepiscopalis suffraganeos presules, qui nunc non sunt alii nisi Macaonensis Antistes, tum quoad regii patronatus privilegia, quibus quum in prædictis Bullis Pontificiis dicitur non fuisse in aliquo derogatum, id de Regia ad ipsam Goanam sedem nominatione est intelligendum; quoad regiones vero omnes Vicariis Apostolicis creditas, firma ac rata esse voluit quæ per Breve diei 21 Aprilis, 1838, incipiens '*Multa præclare*' et aliqua dein edita decreta, provisoria licet ratione constituit; quibus derogatum,—nullo modo per ante dictas Bullas fuisse patet."

It is melancholy to consider the result of all these precautions and of these endeavours to secure an amicable arrangement with Portugal. The Archbishop of Goa had no sooner taken possession of his see, than he became infected by the pestilential atmosphere of schism that surrounded him. He lost his attachment to the Holy See, and disregarding the understanding and promises on which he had been appointed, as well as the clear commands of the Sovereign Pontiff, to whom at his consecration he had made oath to "observe the decrees, ordinances, disposals, reservations, provisions, and others of the Apostolic See, and cause them to be observed by others, and to accept most humbly the orders of the Apostolic See, and with the most diligent exactness accomplish them;" he had scarcely reached his diocese when he broke his promise by the most notorious violation of the Apostolic letter, "*Multa Præclare*," and still con-

tinues to act in open opposition to the Holy See, disturbing the Vicariates in every way, and sending his schismatical priests in every direction. We are told in "The Portuguese Schism Unfolded," that the new Archbishop had within the course of a few months ordained no less than *six hundred priests*, persons for the most part unfit in every respect to fill the sacred office, in order the better to strengthen and uphold the schism. This was in 1845. And he now claims, according to the letter of his Bulls, jurisdiction over all India, such as was granted to the first Archbishop in the days of the Portuguese conquests.

Thus the final stroke was put to the Portuguese schism by the defection of Goa, and the missionaries of India have now to contend with the pagan idolaters, with the Syrian heretics, and the Portuguese schismatics. The acts, too, of the Archbishop of Goa show, it must be confessed, such a spirit of determined opposition to the will of the Holy See, as does not leave much room to hope for any pacific arrangement; though, for the present, the actual circumstances of the appointment, and especially the *titulus coloratus* of the Archbishop, in consequence of his Bull of appointment being drawn up according to the old form, have led the Holy See to deal very gently with him, and Dr. Whelan, the Vicar Apostolic of Bombay, has lately returned thither with sanguine hopes that some satisfactory adjustment may yet be made.

The length to which this outline of the leading facts of the Portuguese schism has extended, precludes us from making much comment on them; yet we cannot avoid noticing what occur to us as the two chief difficulties of the case. One we have already referred to, namely, that while the Portuguese Bishops in India were as yet true to their allegiance to the Holy See, Vicars Apostolic were sent by the Pope to have jurisdiction in their dioceses. Had these dioceses been in an irregular state, it would, we suppose, have been quite consonant to the practice of the Holy See to send out a Vicar Apostolic to supersede the Bishop, or he might have been sent temporarily for some specific purpose to be fulfilled, with some particular and limited jurisdiction; but it does not appear that this was the case from any thing that we can see. And yet we are expressly given to understand, that at the first, and while the Portuguese Bishops were still permitted to live in their dioceses,

they had no jealousy, and made no opposition to the Vicars Apostolic; but that they first began to show their discontent about forty years after, at a time when they were not permitted to enter their dioceses, which were then in possession of the Dutch. And, further, it appears that the Vicars Apostolic were really exercising at this time a greater jurisdiction than had been formally granted them. For when, as we have seen, the Portuguese sent home complaints to Lisbon of their encroachments, and the matter was represented to Rome, the Holy See allowed the justice of the complaint, or, at least, yielded the question by sending out a brief, limiting the jurisdiction of the Vicars Apostolic to those places and persons over which the Portuguese were not permitted to have control. There is, however, a passage in one of the works of Benedict XIV. *De Synodo Diocesana* (lib. 2, cap. x.) respecting the office and jurisdiction of Vicars Apostolic. In it he illustrates his subject by various instances, one of which is this very appointment of a Vicar Apostolic in the diocese of Cranganore, and gives a short outline of the principal events which led to it. Now, from this being quoted by so great an authority as Benedict XIV. as an example of the power and office of Vicar Apostolic, it is certain that the appointment must have been a regular one. And as the Archbishop of Cranganore as well as the Bishop of Cochin were at that time faithful to the Holy See, the Vicar Apostolic could not in this instance have been sent out to supersede them; but it plainly must have been for the especial object of bringing back the Syrian heretics, with a particular and limited jurisdiction over them. In which case the Portuguese Bishops would of course have had nothing to complain of. When, however, in the course of two or three years the Portuguese were driven out of their possessions, the Vicar Apostolic, Dr. Joseph, and his successors, naturally came to look after, and govern all that diocese which now could not be visited by its proper diocesan. This was so far an encroachment, inasmuch as jurisdiction over the whole diocese seems never to have been formally given by the Holy See; and accordingly, when the Portuguese Bishops or episcopal governors reappeared and complained, Clement XI., as has been mentioned above, limited the jurisdiction of the Vicars Apostolic to the supervision of those places, and persons, over whom the Portuguese diocesans were not permitted to preside.

The second difficulty is stated thus: That the Holy See, in 1557 and in 1600, granted to the King of Portugal and his successors the right of patronage over the Indo-Portuguese sees, then newly erected; and that in 1606 Paul V. not only confirmed this grant of his predecessors, but made it irrevocable, so that the king should never think himself deprived of it without his own express consent, or if so deprived, such deprivation should be considered of no force or efficacy; and that, notwithstanding this, the Holy See first divided these dioceses, and put large portions of them under the jurisdiction of Vicars-apostolic, and then limited their jurisdiction within their dioceses, and lastly, suppressed the sees,—that is to say, four out of five of them, altogether. But to this several answers may be made.

1. First, we may answer boldly, that whatever privileges the Holy See may have thought fit to grant to the King of Portugal in reward for his zeal in propagating the faith, yet that the rights of the Holy See are inalienable, and the Pope can no more give away the plenitude of power residing in the Holy See to another, than a man can make over to another the rights and power which the sacrament of matrimony gives him over his wife. Paul V. therefore could not by any act of his make the acts of any of his successors "of no efficacy." Moreover, the Council of Trent, Sess. xxv. c. 9, particularly decrees, that "as it is not just to abolish the lawful rights of patronage, or to violate the pious wills of the faithful who have founded them, so it is not to be permitted that under this pretext the ecclesiastical benefices should be brought under servitude." And after various directions as to the way of proceeding, it ends by saying, that the Bishops are "to bring them back into their ancient state of freedom, *non obstantibus privilegiis constitutionibus et consuetudinibus etiam immemorabilibus*;" thus fully recognizing the authority of the Church to overrule all privileges of whatever kind, that are abused and have become prejudicial to her. And it cannot be denied, even though this should be done unjustly and without due cause, yet still that it is necessarily valid, because the Sovereign Pontiff possesses the plenitude of power.

2. But, notwithstanding, we are not at all disposed to admit that there was, in matter of fact, any violation (even a justifiable one) of the *jus patronatus* granted by the

Holy See to the crown of Portugal. For it is distinctly stated by Mr. Moriarty, that the only right granted by the Bull of Paul V., or hitherto claimed by the sovereigns of Portugal, was the right to *present a fit and proper person to his Holiness for appointment*; so that the sees could not be lawfully filled by any person not approved by the Holy See. Whereas there were, as we have seen, persons sent out repeatedly by the crown of Portugal to take possession of these sees, who were so far from having been approved by Rome, that they were in direct opposition to it, and sent out to carry on that opposition.

3. The same Bull of Paul V. expressly provided, that this right of patronage must be exercised *within two years, otherwise the right was forfeited*, and it belonged to the Holy See to appoint without the presentation of the King of Portugal. This long space of time was allowed on account of the great distance and difficulty of communication in those days, as the utmost time that the see could in any case be allowed to remain vacant. But some of these sees were left vacant, even without any administrator, for a great many years; one, as we have seen, for forty years, and another for thirty-eight; so that they were in fact abdicated, and this was so much taken for granted, that the Vicar-apostolic undertook the care and supervision of them as a matter of course. This, it may certainly be said, was caused by their being driven out of their dominions by the Dutch. But why was it not taken up again, when the altered state of things once more permitted them to resume their sees? It was, we know, claimed, and the claim admitted by the Holy See, which immediately limited the jurisdiction of the Vicars-apostolic; but even then the privilege was not resumed. No Bishop was even then nominated, or presented to the Holy See for institution. The privilege, therefore, was forfeited by disuse.

4. But it may be argued, that the *jus patronatus* was exercised by the appointment of *Vicars-capitular and Vicars-general* to administer the sees. But what authority was there for a succession of Vicars-capitular? The Church never appears to have recognized it; Vicars-capitular being elected by the chapter to administer the see only until there is time to fill it up, and not to continue in possession. And such a practice could not continue without special leave of the Holy See. Moreover (and which

is more particularly to our present purpose) the chapter cannot appoint a Vicar according to canon law, supposing that, while the bishop is living in a distant part his Vicar-general dies or is driven out by the secular power, but recourse must then be had to the Holy See: "Non potest tamen," says Ferraris, "Capitulum constituere Vicarium in casu in quo Episcopus sit excommunicatus vel suspensus, vel in casu in quo Episcopo in remotis degente Vicarius Generalis ab ipso relictus, moriatur vel a Principe Sæculari ejiciatur a Diocesi, quia tunc recurrendum est ad Sedem Apostolicam pro provisione." (*Prompta Bibliotheca in voc. Vicarius, Capitularis, Art. i. § 12.*) As for Vicars-general, they cannot be canonically elected at all by the chapter. So that the chapter of St. Thomé, in electing a successor to Fre Manoel, the Vicar-general of Meliapore, did what was beyond their legitimate power. Again, bishops cannot remain absent from their sees, and govern their dioceses by their Vicars, without special license from the Holy See. So that even Vicars-apostolic, with titles of sees in *partibus infidelium*, in being appointed to take charge of the particular district or country assigned to them, are specially dispensed from residence in the diocese from which they take their title.

5. Thus, then, even though it were quite certain, as canonists for the most part incline to think, that a privilege granted to one who is not a subject, and accepted by him, is irrevocable, because it has the nature of a contract; yet still the crown of Portugal had forfeited this on the double ground of disuse and misuse. Theologians, indeed, decide that it is not every privilege which ceases through disuse; but we learn from Ferraris that affirmative privileges, which affect the rights of other persons, are forfeited through disuse. "Privilegia affirmativa concessa cum gravamine aliorum.....amittuntur per non usum, via præscriptionis si interim fuit occasio utendi privilegio, et tamen eo usus non fuerit privilegiatus, scienter, sponte, et voluntarie, et per tempus requisitum ad præscriptionem pro qualitate privilegiorum." (*Ferraris Prom. Bibliotheca voc. Privilegium, Art. iii. § 30.*) So that this would plainly be a case in which the privilege would be forfeited from the disuse, involving as it did the neglect and destitution of those sees in being left so great a length of time without a bishop. In this case, too, there was not only disuse, but likewise misuse, since the govern-

ment of Portugal irregularly appointed episcopal administrators, not only without the concurrence of the Holy See, but expressly to take part against it, at a time when the opposition against the authority of the Holy See first began. The Council of Trent seems particularly to guard against cases of this sort, when it decrees (cap. ix. p. 25) that "ecclesiastical benefices are not to be permitted to be brought to slavery under the pretext of patronage, and the patronages are confirmed by the Church *save the authority of the Holy See*."

6. Nevertheless, it would seem that in this case, where a privilege is forfeited through abuse or disuse, it is not, generally speaking, forfeited *ipso facto*. "Nisi," says Suarez, "*abusus tollit fundamentum privilegii*;" and, again, "*nisi res sit certa et clara necessaria erit alia declaratio*," (lib. viii. c. xxxvi.) And in like manner Ferraris determines that, in general, such privileges must be withdrawn by a formal act. This, however, had been done by the Bull of Clement X. already given, and which Dr. St. Leger, as we see, urged upon the schismatics in the following words before quoted: "If the jurisdiction which was vested in the Archbishop of Goa, had subsisted unimpaired till the issuing of the above-mentioned Brief, it would be hazardous, nay even inexcusable, to refuse a ready obedience to it; but when it is an undeniable fact, that all this jurisdiction was taken away by Clement X. so far back as the year 1673;" and so he goes on. Again Gregory XVI., in his confirmatory decree given above, says expressly: "*We have derogated, and by these presents a derogation is effected, of the provisions made by Paul V., our predecessor, in the year 1606.*" And in his letter to the people of Calcutta, dated 4th of January, 1837, he speaks of these rights of the Vicar of Meliapore as "*already abrogated*." And as the jurisdiction of the Portuguese bishops had in this way been limited, so it was afterwards entirely done away with as regards the four sees of Meliapore, Cochin, Cranganore, and Malacca, which were suppressed by the Holy See in 1838.

7. The ostensible cause, as we have seen, for resistance to the decrees of the Holy See, was that they infringed the privileges granted to the crown of Portugal, by limiting the jurisdiction of the Portuguese bishops, and curtailing their dioceses. Yet it cannot be maintained that, by granting the right of patronage to the crown of Portugal,

the Holy See had thereby deprived itself of the power of afterwards dividing the dioceses, if it were found expedient to do so. This question is more fully discussed in "The Portuguese Schism Unfolded," than we have space to do here, and the contrary is sufficiently established by precedents. We will refer to one or two of them. Benedict XIV., in his chapter on the office and jurisdiction of Vicars apostolic, cites two instances connected with this very question, in which dioceses were divided without its appearing that the consent of the patron was asked.

"Alexander VIII," he says, "erected the episcopal Sees of Nankin and Pekin, in the empire of China, and gave the right of nominating to them to his most faithful majesty the King of Portugal for the time being.....Not long after, however, it was discovered that the dioceses assigned to these Bishops, were too large, and that the care of the souls contained in them could not be properly attended to. Innocent XII., therefore, appointed Vicars Apostolic throughout the vast tracts of country contained in those dioceses, and ordained that their office should continue until such time as it might be possible to erect new sees. In the meantime, he forbade the Bishops of Nankin and Pekin from in any way intermeddling with the government of those provinces which were committed to the Vicars Apostolic. And again, when the Bishopric of Meliapore was erected by Pope Paul V., the kingdom of Pegu was laid out as a part of the diocese attached to it. But as the Bishops of Meliapore never found themselves able to make a visitation in that part of their dioceses, and the care of souls was in consequence much neglected there, the matter having been represented to us by the above-named Congregation for propagating the Faith, in the year 1741, we thought fit to appoint as Vicar Apostolic of the kingdom of Pegu, the prelate Galizia, with the title of Bishop of Clismene."—*De Synod, Dioc. Lib. 2. cap. x.*

We could not have a greater authority in matters of this kind than Benedict XIV., and he, as we see, not only brings forward these instances to exemplify what may be done, but was himself, as he says, the Pope who divided the latter diocese.

Lastly, we cannot entirely pass over the miserable condition which ecclesiastical matters were in under the Portuguese priests, and the great and urgent need there consequently was that something should be done. The Indian newspapers described them as a 'priesthood not distinguished at best for a high degree of moral and intellectual cultivation, and themselves, as well as their flocks, perfectly

ignorant for the most part of the religion they nominally professed, and of its moral obligations. They declared that they were accustomed to preach only three or four times a-year, in a language which scarcely any of their hearers could understand; and that this was the sum total of the religious instruction they gave them, while a traffic in religious ceremonies was carried on which could only have the effect of confirming and perpetuating the grossest ignorance of all the ends of religion.' We fear this was not merely a Protestant calumny. The Portuguese priests do seem to have been very ignorant themselves, as well as neglectful of their flocks, so that they might well call the attention of the Holy Pontiff to see what could be done to remedy so miserable a state of things.

We conclude these remarks with a recent letter of his present Holiness to the Vicar Apostolic of Bombay.

"POPE PIUS IX. TO THE RIGHT REV. BISHOP WHELAN, VICAR-APOSTOLIC OF BOMBAY.

"Venerable Brother—Health and Apostolic Benediction.

"That singular care was studiously taken by the Apostolic See to guard the interest of the Catholic religion in the East Indies, is well known to you, Venerable Brother, who have long sojourned in those countries, and who have been for some time, even whilst your predecessor was yet alive, a sharer in the administration of the Vicariate-Apostolic of Bombay.

"These things being so, it is not necessary for us writing this letter to explain to you in detail upon what account it was arranged that the said countries, which were formerly governed either by the Archbishop of Goa, or the Bishops of Cranganore, Cochin, and Meliapore, or St. Thomé, with ordinary Episcopal power, should now constitute many Vicariates-Apostolic, and be governed by Vicars-Apostolic established by, and depending immediately upon, the Apostolic See, and exercising the proper jurisdiction of Ordinaries.

"It is moreover manifest to you, Venerable Brother, what grave reasons induced the Holy See to decree the institution of this form of Ecclesiastical Government in those countries, although formerly in times greatly different and distinct from the present state and condition of affairs, a privilege was given to the most faithful kings of Portugal of nominating the Bishops who were to be elected to those Sees.

"For if in those by-gone times the concession of this privilege was made for the purpose of providing against the long vacancy of those Episcopal Sees, and in order that Bishops might be sent opportunely to those places, and, in fine, that the Prelates might be

supplied with suitable maintenance in accordance with their dignity ; it is now notorious to all, that on account of the public vicissitudes of affairs, and especially after the change of political power in those countries, those objects could not for a long time back be secured or obtained.

"These things are treated at large in Apostolic letters of our predecessors, Roman Pontiffs, and particularly of Gregory XVI., of happy memory, in his letter of the 24th April, 1838, which commences, *Multa præclare*, and we are not ignorant that you are fully acquainted with them.

"But now, when you are about to return to the island of Bombay, there to enter upon the discharge of the duties of Vicar-Apostolic, we have judged it opportune, Venerable Brother, to signify to you that we lately received a letter written in that island on the 1st February, 1848, in the Portuguese language, and subscribed by about two hundred and twenty-five Catholics, in which they complain very much of the erection of Vicariates-Apostolic in the East Indies, and especially of the above-mentioned letter Apostolic *Multa præclare*, and they implore the restoration of concord, which they lament to have been destroyed after the promulgation of that Apostolic brief.

"We wish those Catholics, in whose name that epistle was written, to be informed by you, that we received it, and accurately weighed its contents ; that we indeed embrace them in Apostolic charity, and cordially impart to them the benediction of Almighty God ; but, at the same time, we have not been able hitherto to find out any reason for satisfying their wishes for the recovery of concord, unless they obey St. Peter speaking through the Roman Pontiff, and make an end of resisting what the Holy See has decreed in support of religion. We desire them to remark that the circumstances are not changed which moved the Apostolic See, after diligent consideration, to take the advice, of which there is mention in the so often quoted letter Apostolic, *Multa præclare*.

"We recollect that we ourselves wrote a letter to the same effect to the Venerable Brother Joseph D'Silva Torres, Archbishop of Goa, and that we set before his eyes the great importance of avoiding every occasion of exciting schism. In fine, we hope that they will second our wishes, and will bring great cause of consolation to us by their Christian docility.

"But we recommend to you, Venerable Brother, to treat them, as far as you are able, with gentleness and benignity, and be careful to remove everything which may afford them reasonable ground for grief and displeasure.

"In the mean time, we most lovingly impart to you the Apostolic Benediction.

"Dated at Rome, at St. Mary Major's, the 2nd day of April, 1848, in the second year of our Pontificate.

"PIUS IX., P. P."

ART. VII.—*Le Protestantisme comparé au Catholicisme dans ses Rapports avec la Civilization Européenne.* Par L'Abbé JACQUES BALMES. 3 vols. Louvain, 1846.

IN one of the recent numbers of this Journal,* we have called the attention of our readers to the above-mentioned work, in which the benign influence of the Catholic Church on the civilization and freedom of Europe is most ably and systematically set forth and compared with the pretensions of her modern rivals. We saw how those monarchies, which, under the protecting influences of the Church, had been growing into temperate and free governments, being deprived by the desolating flood of the Reformation of the safeguards of their freedom at the moment of their greatest need, became rapidly transformed into despotisms. Thus was the way prepared for the violence and anarchy of the subsequent period, and though in the Catholic states religion retained sufficient power to ward off the evil day for a time, yet were they so weakened as to be unable to resist the unhappy effects of the irreligious and anti-social philosophy which, flowing from Protestant principles, began to inundate the world. We followed the author, as, after showing the superiority of Catholicism over Protestantism in regard of individual virtue and happiness, he proceeded to display the wonderful revolution the Church had wrought in civil and social life, in reforming marriage, in abolishing slavery, in protecting women and children, and to contrast with it the conduct of those Reformers who had ventured to condemn her. We have still to follow him yet further in unfolding the dealings of the Church as they affect the moral and social life of man, before we pass on to the third portion of his work, in which he considers man in his political capacity, and compares what has been there done for him respectively by the Church and Protestantism.

First, then, he investigates the influence of the Catholic Church on public manners, and here he shows the immense service she has rendered to society in limiting the duration and mitigating the spirit of barbarian warfare during

* April, 1848.

the early part of the Middle Age. By the canons of numberless Councils, framed in many countries, and at various epochs, he proves how the Church ever protected the weak against the strong, repressed predatory warfare, aided the secular administration of justice, and shielded from violence defenceless woman, the trader, the pilgrim, and the monk.

The new code of warfare, which Christianity has gradually introduced among European nations, not only proceeds, as the author justly observes, from the general spirit of lenity that our divine religion breathes, but was greatly facilitated by the abolition of slavery.

The subject of public charity next engages attention; but as this is a subject frequently handled, we shall not here long detain the attention of the reader. After observing with M. de Chateaubriand, that pagan antiquity disburdened itself of the unfortunate portion of its population by two expedients—infanticide and slavery—M. Balmes proves by historical documents how, from the earliest ages, the Church devoted her solicitude to the spiritual and the bodily relief of the necessitous. As soon as she could emerge from her catacombs, her course, like her Divine Founder, was marked by monuments of beneficence. “*Pertransiit benefaciendo.*”

Hospitals, orphanages, asylums for poverty and old age, popular schools sprang up on every side, wherever she was able to establish her peaceful and benignant sway. It is well observed by the author, that as it is to the principle of religious authority Catholics are indebted for unity of faith, so it is to the spirit of association, or union of hearts in charity, fostered by their Church, their good works owe their duration and efficacy. Not to individual benevolence alone, doth the Church intrust the exercise of the spiritual and corporal works of mercy, but she concentrates and impersonates her charity, if I may so speak, in great institutions, — whether in confraternities consisting of pious members of the laity, or in religious orders composed of such as by their vows have renounced the world. The concrete form, in which Catholicism knows how to embody its doctrines and its precepts, proves it to be a religion eminently social, and is one of the causes of its vast superiority to Protestantism. It was easy for the latter to uphold some of those beneficent institutions, which it had cost the Catholic Church such labour and such sacrifices

to establish. But how many glorious creations of Catholic charity, Protestantism has allowed to sink to the ground; how utterly incapable it hath shown itself of supplying their place by new foundations, and in how sickly and mutilated a form it lets those institutions languish which it inherited of the ages of faith, it is needless to remind the reader. Who can read without a sigh the following passage?

"As we approach the times wherein we live," says the author, "we see numberless institutes founded by the Church with a view to beneficence. Must we not admire the wonderful fertility of resources with which she afforded succour to every species of misfortune? What would have occurred without the rise of the Reformation cannot, indeed, be precisely estimated; but, at least, there is a conjecture which reasons drawn from analogy may authorize. If, under the shelter of religious unity, the development of European civilization had been carried out to its perfection; if the pretended Reformation had not plunged Europe into a series of perpetual revolutions and reactions, then, certainly, there would have sprung up from the bosom of the Catholic Church, and been organized on a vast scale in conformity with the altered state of society, some general system of charity, capable of preventing the plague of pauperism—that cancer of modern nations—or of applying to it an effectual remedy. What might not have been expected from the combined intelligence and resources of all the European nations, labouring in concert to bring about this grand result? Unfortunately, unity of faith was destroyed; authority, which then, as in all past and future times, is its necessary centre, was rejected. From that very instant, Europe, whose inhabitants were soon destined to become one nation of brothers, was converted into a battle field, where the combat was carried on with unexampled fury. The hatred engendered by religious differences, prevented any combination of efforts to encounter the new difficulties about to arise. Angry contentions, insurrections, and wars became acclimatized among us.

"Let us never forget the fact: not only did the Protestant schism prevent the union of all European nations for the attainment of the object we have here pointed out; but, moreover, it prevented Catholicism itself from exerting its full and regular influence, even in those countries where it preserved an absolute dominion or a decided preponderance. In those lands it has been constantly obliged to hold a defensive attitude; it has been compelled by the assaults of its antagonist to employ a great part of its resources in guarding its own existence. Hence it follows, that in all probability the actual state of things in Europe is entirely different from what it would have been on the contrary supposition. And per-

haps, in the latter case, Europe would not have been under the sad necessity of exhausting itself in impotent efforts against an evil, which according to all appearance, and unless remedies hitherto unknown be devised, seems utterly incurable."—vol. ii. pp. 86-7.

The subject of religious toleration comes next under consideration; and here the author ably refutes the misrepresentations and sophisms, which heresy and infidelity have indulged in on this delicate matter. In the individual, toleration, or a spirit of conciliatory mildness, as it is the product of humility, is not only perfectly compatible with, but is the true concomitant of religious zeal. But the word tolerance has also a more restricted sense—it means indulgence towards the errors or weaknesses of others; and here it is not exclusively the offspring of meekness, but is also the result of temperament and habit. Take, for example, (to use a comparison of M. Balme,) two Catholics; both are equally pious and charitable, but one has ever lived in a catholic country, where his religious tenets have never encountered contradiction; the other has passed his life among Protestants, and been wont to hear the doctrines of his Church controverted, and her worship turned into ridicule. It is evident that, while the former could scarcely listen with patience to the taunts and cavils of a protestant disputant, the latter would be far more tolerant towards the objections of his opponent.

If we apply these analogies to society, we shall find that at no period, and in no country, was religious toleration ever admitted as an absolute, unqualified principle; but was ever regarded as one susceptible of various modifications, and to be enlarged or restricted according to the exigences of time and place. While the Catholic Church has ever remained *spiritually* intolerant—that is to say, inimical to error, she has never resisted the establishment of *civil* toleration, when claimed by the wants of society. The history of catholic countries will show that in them the example of religious toleration has been more frequent, and the principle subjected to less narrow restrictions, than in heathen antiquity or in modern protestant states. But a heresy, whose old age is quite innoxious, may in its turbulent youth have been most adverse to the peace and well-being of society. A sect, whose toleration in *one* country justice and expediency demand, could not perhaps, without the greatest detriment to social order, be

introduced into *another*. No European government—not the most tolerant—would tolerate for an instant the worship of Priapus, or the use of human sacrifices; and those French sophists, who declaim in such unmeasured language against the old ecclesiastical tribunals for prosecuting heresy, (when heresy was synonymous with sedition and civil war,) are the very first, on coming into power, to put down the meetings of Saint Simonians and Communists, who preach up regicide, the general partition of property, and the abolition of marriage. Thus is religious toleration, in the estimation of mankind, no absolute, inexorable principle; but one to be compressed or relaxed, according to the nature of the doctrines claiming suffe-
rance, and the wants and circumstances of society. One of the propositions of the “Avenir,” condemned by the Holy See in the Encyclical of 1832, was, that *all governments are under the obligation of tolerating all manner of doctrines and religions, without regard to their intrinsic essence, or the outward relations of time and place.*

The tolerance, which is now so generally prevalent in European Society, is not, as the infidels boast, their exclusive work; but is the result of a combination of peculiar circumstances.

“The multitude of religions,” says our author, “infidelity—indifference—the general mildness of manners—the lassitude engendered by wars—the industrial and mercantile organization becoming each day more influential—the more frequent intercommunications between men by means of travel, and between ideas by means of the Press; such are the causes that have brought about in Europe this universal toleration, and established it de facto in those countries, where it does not exist de jure.”

M. Balmes devotes two interesting chapters to the subject of the Inquisition. The secrecy and severe proceedings of that tribunal, in its origin, were directed against the secret Manichean sects, that sprang up in the eleventh century, and obtained such wide ramifications in the thirteenth—sects which for their immoral, abominable, anti-social tenets, and their infamous practices, were proscribed long ages before, not only by Christian Governments, but by the Pagan Emperors, Dioclesian and Maximienus. In Arragon, as well as in the South of France, and in other parts of Europe, the Inquisition was established. But in the year 1480, Ferdinand and

Isabella solicited of the Holy See a Bull, whereby this ecclesiastico-political tribunal was introduced into Castile, and all other parts of the Spanish Peninsula. The history of the Spanish Inquisition may be divided into three epochs. From the year 1480, till about the middle of the reign of Charles V., the Holy Office directed its efforts principally against the Judaizing Christians and the relapsed Moriscoes; from that period till the accession of the House of Bourbon at the commencement of the eighteenth century, the Inquisition concentrated its powers to prevent the introduction of Protestantism into Spain; and from the last-named period till its abolition in 1820, this tribunal strove to repress the circulation of irreligious and immoral publications.

We cannot forbear citing the following judicious observations of the author:—

"In speaking of the Spanish Inquisition," (he says in a note), "I have not proposed to defend all its acts, either as regards justice, or public expediency. Without misapprehending the very peculiar and exceptional circumstances in which this Institute was placed, I think it would have done far better, if, after the example of the Roman Inquisition, it had avoided, as much as possible, the effusion of blood. It might very well have watched over the preservation of the Faith, prevented the evils with which Religion was menaced from the Moors and the Jews, and rescued Spain from Protestantism, without exerting that excessive rigour, which drew down upon it the severe reproofs and reprimands of the Sovereign Pontiffs, provoked the remonstrances of the people, occasioned so many of the accused and condemned to appeal to Rome, and furnished the adversaries of Catholicism with a pretext for taxing as sanguinary, a Religion that holds bloodshed in abhorrence. The Catholic Religion, I repeat it, is not responsible for any of the excesses that may have been committed in her name; and when we speak of the Inquisition, we ought not to fix our eyes chiefly on that of Spain, but on that of Rome. There, where the Sovereign Pontiff resides, and where the principle of intolerance must be best understood, as well as the manner in which it is to be applied, the Inquisition has ever evinced the greatest mildness and indulgence. Rome is the place, where humanity has had the least to suffer from motives of Religion. And this assertion may be made without excepting any country, either such where the Inquisition was established, or those that ever remained strangers to it; either those where Catholicism was predominant, or those where the Reformation triumphed. This fact, which is beyond a doubt, must suffice to make every candid man comprehend what is on

this matter the spirit of the Catholic Church."—pp. 291-92, Note, vol. ii.

Again, the author says:—

"We must not suppose, that the appeals admitted at Rome, and in virtue of which the lot of the accused was mitigated, turned solely on defects of form, or on injustices committed in the application of the law. If the accused recurred to Rome, it was not always to demand the reparation of a wrong; but because they were sure of there meeting with indulgence. Of this we have a proof in the considerable number of Spanish refugees, convicted at Rome of having lapsed into Judaism. We find no less than two hundred and fifty on a single occasion. Yet not a single capital execution occurred. They were subjected to some penances, and when they were absolved, they had full liberty to return to their homes without the least mark of ignominy. This took place at Rome in the year 1498.

"It is indeed truly remarkable, that never did the Roman Inquisitor pronounce the sentence of capital punishment, although during that long period of time, the Holy See was occupied by several Pontiffs, remarkable for an extreme rigidity and severity in all relating to civil administration. We find in every part of Europe, scaffolds erected to punish crimes against Religion; everywhere we witness scenes which sadden the soul; and Rome—Rome often depicted as a monster of intolerance and cruelty, forms an honourable exception from this rule. It is true the Popes did not, like the Protestants, preach up universal toleration; but facts prove the immense difference between the Popes and the Protestants. The Popes armed with an intolerant tribunal, have not shed a single drop of blood; the Protestants and the Infidels have poured out torrents. What doth it avail the victim to hear his executioners proclaim toleration? This is only to add the gall of sarcasm to the torture of punishment."—p. 128, vol. ii.

In the first period of the Spanish Inquisition, its excessive severities were provoked by the secret plots and machinations of two rival races existing in the bosom of the nation—the Moors and the Jews. The Moors in Spain carried on secret intrigues with their brethren on the African coast, invoked their armed assistance, and aided and abetted their piratical incursions on the coasts, whereby among other mischievous results, defenceless Christians were often carried off into captivity. The Jews by their exorbitant usuries, had obtained a large portion of the landed property of the country, and held very many noble families in a state of the most abject

dependence. Many hypocritically conformed to Christianity, rose to high offices in the Church, and still practised Judaic rites, and endeavoured to pervert Christians. Their numbers, wealth, and organization, gave them great facilities for carrying on their conspiracies against the state, in which they were often leagued with the Moors. The crimes, too, which popular outcry imputed to the Jews, and which, though much exaggerated in many instances, were really proved in some cases, tended to embitter more and more the feelings of the nation and government against them.

We must remember, too, that when the Spanish Inquisition was founded by Ferdinand and Isabella, the long and arduous struggle for the independence of Spain against Mussulman power was not yet terminated. It was thus a combination of peculiar circumstances—the rivalry of hostile races—the sufferings which the people endured—the perpetual dread of conspiracies and revolutions in this, the most critical period of the Spanish monarchy, that as they produced a great exacerbation of public feeling, stamped on the proceedings of the Inquisition a character of harshness and cruelty.

We come now to the second period of the Inquisition. Spain was then, as it were, besieged by Protestantism;—the Protestants left no effort nor artifice untried to introduce their doctrines into the Peninsula;—and the Protestant powers, the jealous rivals of Spanish greatness, strove to weaken her might by provoking in her interior religious and civil dissensions. Hence the extreme rigour of the Inquisition in the reign of Philip II. It is false, as the author observes, that the Inquisition was a mere instrument of regal policy;* but on the other hand, the policy of kings imparted to this tribunal a character of

* In confirmation of this assertion, we may allege the following anecdote, cited by M. Balmes on the authority of a contemporary writer, Don Antonio Perez. A preacher in a sermon before Philip II. at Madrid, advanced the proposition, "*that kings have an absolute power over the persons, as well as the property of their subjects.*" The proposition was denounced to the Inquisition; it was condemned by that tribunal; and the preacher, after being subjected to some penances, was commanded to make in public the following written retraction: "*Gentlemen, kings have over their subjects no other power, but that accorded to them by divine and human law; they*

extreme severity; which, had the instructions and still more the intentions of the Sovereign Pontiffs been fulfilled, would certainly have not characterised it. Had Protestantism been introduced into Spain, the religious discord and civil wars it would have occasioned, would have been attended with far more fatal results in that country, than in France or elsewhere; for the several parts of the Spanish monarchy were but ill cemented.

With respect to the third epoch of the Inquisition, it is universally admitted that the tribunal then partook of the general spirit of mildness, that distinguished the age. The auto-da-fe's ceased, except in cases of atrocious sacrilege, which in almost all countries are visited with capital punishment. The authors and publishers of infidel works, and the members of secret irreligious and revolutionary societies, were merely, as in England, punished with some years' imprisonment; and at the close of the eighteenth century, M. Bourgoing, an infidel, and the Representative of the French Republic at the Court of Madrid, acknowledged "that the Inquisition might be cited in later times as a model of equity."^{*}

We have dwelt at greater length on the nature and history of the Spanish Inquisition, because though a purely local, and in many respects, a political institution, it has been made the vehicle of much obloquy and misrepresentation against the Catholic Church. We strongly recommend to the attention of the reader the chapters which M. Balmes has devoted to this matter, and of which we have been able to give but a faint outline. The subject has also been treated in fuller detail, and with his usual

have none proceeding from their free and absolute will." (Relaciones de Anton. Perez. Paris, 1624.) M. Balmes might also have cited that remarkable prescription of the Roman Congregation of the Index to all tribunals of the Inquisition, that all books excusing the injustice and tyranny of princes from state-reasons, were to be condemned.

* See his *Tableau d'Espagne*. Equally favourable is the testimony borne to the Inquisition by M. de la Borde in his work, entitled, "*Voyage Pittoresque et Littéraire d'Espagne*," published in the year 1807. Writing for Spaniards, M. Balmes judged it unnecessary to cite the remarkable testimony of these two foreigners; but he appeals to the avowals of the most ardent enemies of the Inquisition.

ability, by the illustrious Count Maistre, in his "*Lettres à un Gentilhomme Russe sur l'Inquisition Espagnole, 1815;*" but in many respects we prefer the observations of the Spaniard, for they are pervaded by a tone of greater moderation.

In conclusion, we may observe, that although in the mitigated form in which the Spanish Inquisition existed in the eighteenth century, it is perfectly clear of the gross charges which bad faith or ignorance is wont to allege against it; yet, for many reasons, we make bold to affirm, that no greater error was ever committed by Ferdinand, than the restoration of this tribunal in the year 1814. For, in the first place, it had failed to prevent entirely the circulation of irreligious works, and the existence of secret irreligious societies, and the consequent corruption of a portion of the public mind, as is abundantly proved by the language and acts of many, who took part in the revolutionary Cortes of 1812 and 1820. Secondly, it was calculated, as Count Maistre acknowledges, to cramp and fetter the human mind by the dread it inspired—a circumstance at all times, and especially in an age like our own, hurtful to religion. Lastly, while, as in Italy and other purely Catholic countries, the suppression of infidel works might be safely left to the action of the ordinary tribunals; the Inquisition, without offering in this respect any greater protection, served to keep up in Spain the needless irritation of many minds, and to furnish the enemies of the Church throughout Europe, with a pretext for calumny and invective. On Ferdinand's second restoration, in the year 1823, this tribunal, it is well known, was not restored.

An interesting portion of M. Balmes's work is devoted to the Religious Orders, which form the next subject of his investigation, but of which our limits will allow us to give but a very meagre outline. He shows the close connection between these institutions and religion herself; the causes of the antipathy, that Protestantism and her daughter Infidelity have ever evinced towards them; and their universal prevalence and indestructible nature, flourishing more or less at every period of ecclesiastical history, and in every region where Christianity has planted her banner, and marvellously reviving in countries from which the hand of persecution had, it would seem, for ever plucked them out. Tracing their origin to the very words

of our divine Lord, and the spirit of His gospel, the author follows these institutes from the Ascetæ, who, in the first ages of the Church, led the way to martyrdom, down to those "Fathers of the Desert," whose lives are a perpetual prodigy, and who have done so much to spiritualize the views of the Christian, and down to those mighty and widely spread establishments, that under the venerable name of Benedict, stood almost alone erect amid the dreadful shocks that overthrew the old civilization, and prepared the way for the new. Before he comes to the west, the author casts a glance of sorrow on that eastern Church, where the cenobitical life first took root and flourished; but where the heresies that preceded the schism of Photius, and that schism itself, withered up the blossoms of sanctity and science her countless monasteries had once put forth. He shows it to be not improbable that they exerted no inconsiderable influence on Arabian civilization, and that the physical and mathematical knowledge which the Arabs brought into Spain, they had derived from that quarter.

The various Benedictine monasteries of the west, were the repositories of ancient knowledge, and the seminaries of modern learning. There, while the works of pagan and christian antiquity were transcribed, valuable chronicles were composed, and useful compilations made, till, in course of time, from those cloisters issued great theological and philosophical treatises. Woods by degrees cleared—morasses reclaimed—the corn field and the vine-clad hill superseding the primitive ruggedness of nature—the hamlet, and at last, the flourishing town springing round the solitary abbey—and happy vassals blessing its benignant sway—such are some of the services whose institutes rendered to society. Then again, when was hospitality more generously exercised, or poverty, in all her wants, more amply relieved, or the word of God preached, and the holy mysteries of religion dispensed with more zeal, than by the inmates of those holy communities, from whose cloisters, too, went forth the beautiful feet that carried the good tidings of salvation to the distant heathen?

But new wants call forth new institutions. The tide of Moslem barbarism threatens to inundate the Christian west; the destructive fanaticism of Islam must be encountered by the divine enthusiasm of the gospel: the secular chivalry must be aided and inspired by the example and

services of a spiritual chivalry. Hence, the Church, in her marvellous fecundity, creates those military orders, wherein the charitable zeal of the monk is blended with the activity of the soldier, and both are wrought to a pitch of supernatural heroism, whose feats are unparalleled in history, and have left their imperishable traces on the plains of Palestine, Syria, Spain, and Rhodes.

What shall we say, too, of those touching institutes, the Trinitarians and the Order of Mercy, for the redemption of captives? How seasonable was their rise! The Mussulman, triumphant in the east and in the north of Africa, and still holding a large part of Spain in his gripe, hovered like a falcon over the south of Europe, and ever and anon bore off multitudes of unhappy christians into captivity. How beneficent, too, was the working of these orders! Can we number the thousands they rescued, even down to later times, from the torture of protracted exile and cruel bondage—from the brutality of lust, and the peril of apostacy? Can we number the tears they dried up, the parents, the consorts, the children, they restored to their homes and country, and the souls they regained to heaven? Can we, above all, count the labours, the dangers, the privations, the sacrifices they endured in the prosecution of their sublime calling? Or was it possible for charity herself to assume a more affecting or august form?

In the thirteenth century, the most formidable dangers menaced the Church. Some sects, like the Waldenses, under the hypocritical guise of poverty and mortification, inspired the people with a contempt for spiritual and temporal authority. The wide-spread Manichean sects, under various denominations, and with an extraordinary union of craft and violence, assailed the dogmas and hierarchy of the Church, subverted the foundations of morality and civil government, and spread terror, havoc, and bloodshed on their march. To check the progress of heresy, the Almighty raises up, in the words of Dante, a cherub of light, and a seraph of flame, who infuse their burning souls into the two mighty orders they create. To a proud hypocritical poverty, the members of these orders oppose a true humility and evangelical simplicity, make themselves all to all, gain the hearts of the multitude, and by their apostolic missions, their preachings, their learned writings, and the confraternities they everywhere establish, they rescue millions from the grasp of

heresy, and achieve a moral reform in all classes of society. In the sixteenth century, a most awful heresy invades the Church in the north of Europe. Its progress is facilitated by the cupidity of kings, by the corruption of many nobles, by the slothfulness of not a few among the prelates, by the ignorance and vices of a portion of the secular clergy, the degeneracy, moral and intellectual, of many among the monastic body, and the consequent spiritual neglect in which a great portion of the people had been left. While bishops, like St. Charles Borromeo, the Venerable Bartholomew de Martyribus, later St. Francis of Sales, and others, carry out the disciplinary reforms pointed out by the holy council of Trent, providence calls up an order which, combining the heroic enthusiasm of an Ignatius, with the cool penetrative understanding of a Laynez, is admirably adapted to the emergencies of the Church at that period. Its members, by their zeal and learning, make heresy everywhere quail, roll back its squadrons from the south of Germany, reform education, give a better direction to classical studies, infuse a new life into many departments of sacred and profane literature, bring about a reformation of morals in the higher classes, and by their labours and their teaching, their miracles and their blood, win to the gospel vast conquests in Asia and in America, and furnish the Church with many eminent saints and holy doctors.

But in the great work of resistance to Protestantism, and the moral and intellectual regeneration of Catholics, this illustrious society was aided by several other orders and congregations, that, though more confined in their operations, were still very effective in their several spheres. Such was the Order of Capuchins, that revived the primitive rule of St. Francis, and awoke, especially in the lower ranks of society, a spirit of penitence and fervour. Such was the reformed Carmelite Order, whose sacred foundress was St. Theresa, and whose holy spirit and example breathed new life into the whole Church of Spain. Such was the congregation of the "Fathers of the Oratory" in Italy and in France, which, though small in extent, has furnished the Church with such an extraordinary number of men, eminent for learning and piety. Such were the Maurist Benedictines, who have rendered imperishable services to Patristic literature and ecclesiastical history. Such, too, were the Theatines, the Piarists, and others,

who devoted themselves to preaching and the instruction of youth. The next age beheld the noble Order of Lazarists founded by St. Vincent of Paul, an Order that in the office of preaching, the direction of seminaries and foreign missions, is a pride and ornament to the Church of France. The "Sisters of Charity," another foundation of that great saint, is, as the name denotes, a living impersonation of benevolence. The eighteenth century, so noted for its spiritual languor, so sterile in all great creations of religion and charity, saw the rise of the remarkable Order of Redemptorists, that have already produced so many distinguished preachers, that seem to have received a remarkable mission for evangelizing the people, and whose apostolic labours have met with such signal success in Italy, Germany, Belgium, and America. The recent austere Order of Passionists is now one of the most flourishing in Italy, and, together with the Brothers of Love, seems destined to exert the most blessed influence in our own country. The Brothers of Love, founded by the pious and very distinguished living christian philosopher, Rosmini, are not only by their preaching and missions rendering the greatest services to the Church in Italy, but are likely to diffuse the flame of high philosophic speculation, which their founder and other eminent *Italians* have of late years enkindled, but which had been so long well nigh extinct in their beautiful land.

In this brief enumeration, (in which we ought to have included the very useful communities of "Ursulines" and "Ladies of the Visitation," the one for the education of the higher and lower classes of women, the other for the care of the sick,) in this enumeration, we have named only the more remarkable orders and congregations, that have sprung up since the rise of Protestantism. We regret that we have been obliged to give this sketch in our own words, and have been prevented through want of space, from citing some of M. Balmes's interesting reflections on the same subject. In his concluding chapter on the Religious Orders, he shows that European Society in the present age, from its peculiar moral, intellectual, political, and economic condition and wants, demands the aid and services of these Institutes more imperiously, than at any preceding period of its existence.

We come now to the third part of the work, where the author examines the respective *political* influence of the

Catholic and Protestant Churches. There he treats the question as to the origin of civil power, which in our preliminary remarks, in the article before referred to, we have already discussed. He fully explains the Catholic doctrine in the divine origin of that power, shows how consonant it is to sound reason, how worthy of man's dignity, how conducive to freedom as well as to order. After explaining the dogma, he descends into the region of philosophic opinions connected with the doctrine. All Catholic theologians are agreed on the dogma of the divine origin of civil power; but the *mode of its transmission* is a question abandoned to the liberty of the schools. Some theologians, like St. Thomas, Bellarmine, Suarez, (and they are followed by the great majority,) assert that it is only *mediately* political power emanates from God. Others affirm that that emanation is *immediate*. The former maintain that it is only ecclesiastical authority, which can be said to emanate immediately from God; for there the subject of authority, and the conditions of its existence, as for example, in the appointment of St. Peter to the headship of the Church, are clearly designated by the God-man Himself. But in the political order of things, it is contended, power only in the abstract, can be said to proceed from God; and the laws of its existence, and the mode of its transmission, in other words, its *forms* are the creatures of circumstance and of human law. Though power be of divine origin, yet, as the Almighty makes no personal designation of the king, or the civil magistrate, nor prescribes the tenure or conditions of his authority, it is evident that human will must co-operate in carrying out into effect the divine institution,—in other words, that human law is here the organ of God's will; and that in this sense, the old adage is true—*vox populi vox Dei*. The fundamental—the radical difference between the doctrine of the first named class of Catholic theologians, and that of such Protestants, as well as Infidels, who assert that principle of popular sovereignty, is this; that the former holding political power to be of divine origin, and the people merely the channel of its transmission, maintain that obedience to it is a sacred, inviolable duty, and that, except in certain extreme cases, which shall afterwards be examined, the rights of authority are absolutely indefeasible. The latter on the contrary affirm, that political power emanates originally and essentially from the

people, and may be revoked or transferred by the people, whenever it judges fitting. Rousseau, the most consistent advocate of this revolutionary theory, goes so far as to assert, "that society depraves man," that "the sovereign people require not reason to justify its acts," and that authority granted by the people, may, on the most frivolous pretexts, be revoked by the people.

In adopting the opinion as to the *mediate* emanation of power from God, Bellarmine and Suarez clearly intimate, that they had two objects in view. The first was to prove to the temporal power, flattered as it was by the false doctrines in vogue in the sixteenth century, that in point of origin, as well as of essence, spiritual authority was far superior; since it could boast an *immediate* divine institution. The second object was, to procure greater guarantees for political freedom.—M. Balmes, however, very ably reconciles the above stated theories of the two Catholic schools of Theology. According to the different light, wherein the subject is viewed, this diversity of opinion is of greater or less importance.

"Whether," he says, "the communication of power be made in a *mediate* or *immediate* manner, the respect and obedience due to it are no wise altered; and, consequently, the sacredness of the origin of power remains the same, whatever opinion we may adopt. Equally sacred, in the same manner, are the rights and the duties of governments, as well as of subjects. Those rights and those duties are in no wise altered, though there be or be not an intermediate organ for the communication of power; their nature and their limits are based on the very object of the institution of society; now this object is perfectly independent of the manner in which God communicates authority to men."—vol. iii. p. 61.

The limits of the civil power come next under consideration. St. Thomas gives the following beautiful definition of law. "*Quædam Rationis ordinatio ad bonum commune, et ab eo, qui curam communitatis habet, promulgata.*" (L. 2. Quart. 90. art. 4.) It must first of all be an *ordinance conformable to reason*. Hereby all injustice, all tyranny, all arbitrary power, are necessarily excluded. The ordinance must be for the common weal, and not for private ends, not for the gratification of personal ambition or cupidity; for in that case, he says, it would be rather an outrage, than a law. "*Et hujus modi magis sunt violentiæ, quam leges.*" (L. 2. Q. 96. art. 4.)

The holy Doctor continues :

"The kingdom is not for the king, but the king for the kingdom ; for God hath constituted kings to rule and to govern, and to preserve to each one the possession of his right : such is the end of the institution. But if kings, turning things to their own profit, act otherwise, they are no longer kings, but tyrants."—*De Regimine Principum*, c. 11.

"Kings, princes, magistrates," exclaims an old Spanish writer, the venerable Dean Palafox, cited by the author, "all jurisdiction is ordained of God for the preservation, not for the destruction, of his people ; for defence, not for offence ; for right, and not for outrage, to men. Those who write, that kings may do all they wish, and who establish their power or their will, open the door to tyranny. Those who write, that kings may do all they ought to do and all they need for the preservation of their subjects, for the conservation of their crown, for the exaltation of religion, for the pure and equal administration of justice, for the maintenance of peace, or the just carrying on of war, and the support of the royal dignity and the splendour of the crown ; those tell the truth without flattery, and open the door to justice and to every royal virtue."—*Hist. Real. Sagrada*, lib. i. c. 11.

The author shows, that while in the Catholic countries, like Spain and Italy, the boldest language, as well as the soundest and most generous views prevailed, touching the civil power, the Protestant publications proclaimed on the same matter, the most degrading doctrines. It was from the bosom of our revolutionary anarchy Hobbes erected his debasing system of atheistic despotism, and it is in Protestant Germans he has found the most numerous disciples. Even the moderate Puffendorf and Grotius, used at times expressions too favourable to tyranny. "*Sic imperia quædam*," says the latter, "*esse possunt comparata, ad regum utilitatem*." (*De jure belli et pacis*, lib. 1. c. 3.)

The author proceeds to examine the question of resistance to political tyranny. First, as to moral resistance, he shows that it is always lawful, and in many cases a duty. He takes occasion to demonstrate, what we endeavour to prove in our introductory remarks, that the separation of spiritual and temporal authority, is one of the great safeguards of political freedom. Next comes the delicate question, which he meets with equal boldness and prudence ; "Is it ever lawful to oppose physical resistance to political despotism ?" Here it is necessary to make the

due distinctions. The right of armed resistance to a usurping *de facto government*, or an illegitimate tyranny, is universally admitted by theologians. To refuse such a right, would be to sanction the reign of injustice, violence, usurpation and lawlessness—it would be to plunge the world into an interminable chaos. The expediency of such an opposition must, however, depend on a thousand circumstances. To condemn it would be to condemn the noble resistance of the Maccabees and their people to the impious despotism of Antiochus, or the magnanimous rising of the Spanish nation against the intrusive government of Napoleon. Hence, a work of a late Spanish Prelate, Don Amat, Archbishop of Palmyra, entitled “*Idea of the Church Militant*,” inculcating among other things, that obedience to all *de facto governments*, whether their origin or legitimacy was a precept prescribed by the Gospel, has been censured by the sacred Congregation of the Index.

But can a legitimate government ever be lawfully opposed by physical force? In no case it is lawful for the individual to offer such opposition. The Council of Constance, in its 15th session, has formally condemned as heretical the following proposition, “Any vassal or subject whatsoever can, and ought lawfully and meritoriously slay any tyrant, whoever he may be; he may to this effect, make use of secret snares, of illusive caresses, or flatteries, notwithstanding any oath or compact whatsoever made with the tyrant, or without waiting the sentence or order of any judge.”* In stigmatizing such infamous doctrines, that left the lives of princes and magistrates, (and together with them, the peace of society, and the liberty of nations,) at the mercy of every discontented knave or gloomy fanatic, the council must earn the applause of every friend of humanity.

But if it be a crime for the *individual* to raise his hand against a legitimate sovereign, though acting unjustly or

* “*Quilibet tyrannus potest et debet licite et meritorie occidi per quemcunque vasallum suum vel subditum, etiam per clanculares insidias, et subtiles blanditias vel adulationes, non obstante quocunque præstito juramento seu confederatione factis cum eo, non expectatâ sententiâ vel mandato judicis cujuscumque.*” The author of this infamous proposition was, if we remember right, Jean Petit, a doctor of Sorbonne.

tyrannically, is the *Community* at large, or the chief bodies representing it, denied all right of armed resistance to extreme tyranny? On this subject it will be well to hear our author.

"But if the supreme authority in the state," says he, "makes a scandalous abuse of its prerogatives, if it stretches them beyond due limits, if it tramples under foot the fundamental laws; if it persecutes religion, corrupts morals; if it outrages public decorum, attacks the honour of citizens; if it exacts illegal and unjust contributions; if it violates the rights of property; if it alienates the patrimony of the nation, dismembers the provinces, and brings disgrace and ruin on its subjects, doth the Catholic Church in such cases also prescribe obedience? Doth it forbid resistance? Doth it oblige the people to remain tranquil, docile like the lamb in the claws of a wild beast? Doth there not exist, either among individuals, or in the leading corporations of the state, or in the most distinguished classes of citizens, or in the general body of the nation—nowhere, in fine, the right of opposition and resistance, after all the means of mildness, remonstrance, counsel, and prayer shall have been exhausted? In circumstances so disastrous, does the Catholic Church leave nations without a hope, and tyrants without a check?"

"Theologians of great weight think that, in such extreme cases, *resistance is permitted; but the doctrine of the Church descends not* to these details. The Church has abstained from condemning any of the opposite opinions held in the schools; in circumstances of such urgency, *non-resistance* is not a doctrinal precept of the Church. Never has the Church taught a like doctrine; those who make such an assertion, should adduce the decision of a Council or *Sovereign Pontiff*. *St. Thomas Aquinas, Bellarmine, Suarez, and other* eminent theologians, were surely perfectly acquainted with the dogmas of the Church; yet if we consult their works, so far from finding this doctrine of non-resistance, we meet with the very opposite teaching. Now the Church has not condemned them; it has not confounded them with those seditious writers that teemed among the Protestants, nor with the modern Revolutionists, the eternal perturbators of social order.* Bossuet and other writers

* M. Balmes cites in his notes long passages from the works of *St. Thomas, Bellarmine, Suarez, and several old Spanish ecclesiastical writers, like Mariana, Father Marquez, Dean Palafox, Father Jean de Sta. Maria, author of a work entitled "Christian Polity,"* and others who flourished in the 16th and early part of the 17th century, respecting the origin of power, the right of armed resistance in extreme cases, the necessity of setting limits to royal authority, and the advantages of the mixed or temperate monarchy.

of repute think differently from St. Thomas, Bellarmine, and Suarez; this certainly renders the contrary opinion respectable, but does not convert it into a dogma. On certain points of the highest importance, the opinions of the illustrious Bishop of Meaux

These passages, of course, it would be impossible for us, from want of space, to adduce; but there is one from Suarez, which we cannot forbear quoting, and for the reasons we shall presently allege. We beg the reader's attention to the words in *Italics*.

After stating that Princes may be tyrants in two ways, either by usurpation of the Government, or by the injustice of their rule; and after observing that in the first case, armed resistance, whether on the part of the individual or of the community, is lawful; he proceeds to the consideration of the second case. "*De posteriori tyranno*," he says, speaking of a legitimate tyrant, "*idem docuit Joannes Huss, imo de omni iniquo superiore; quod damnatum est in Concilio Constant. Sessione 8, et 15. Unde certa veritas est, contra hujusmodi tyrannum nullam privatam personam, aut protestatem imperfectam, posse juste movere bellum aggressivum, atque illud esset proprie seditio. Probatur quoniam ille, ut supponitur, verus est Dominus; inferiores autem jus non habent indicendi bellum, sed defendendi se tantum; quod non habet locum in hoc tyranno; namque ille non semper singulis facit injuriam, atque si invaderent, id solum possent efficere, quod ad suam defensionem sufficeret. At vero tota Respublica posset bello insurgere contra ejus modi tyrannum, neque tunc excitaretur propria seditio, (hoc siquidem nomen in malam partem sumi consuevit). Ratio est: quia tunc tota Respublica superior est Rege: nam cum ipsa dederit illi potestatem, ea conditione dedisse censetur, ut politicè non tyrannicè regerit, alias ab ipsâ posset deponi. Est tamen observandum, ut ille vero et manifeste tyrannicè agat; concurrentque aliæ conditiones ad honestatem belli positæ. Lege Divum Thomam lib. de Regimine Principum.—Dico tertio: Bellum Reipublice contra Regem neutro modo tyrannum, est propriiissime seditio, et intrinsicè malum. Est certa, et inde constat: quia deest tunc et causa justa, et potestas. Ex quo etiam è contrario constat, bellum Principis contra Rempublicam sibi subditam ex parte potestatis posse esse justum, si adsint aliæ conditiones; si vero desint, injustum omnino esse."* (Suarez, *De Bello*. Disp. 13, sect. 8. Utrum seditio sit intrinsicè mala?) Suarez is sometimes charged, and even by good Catholics, (and among these we may include the eminent living Publicist, Count Henri de Merode, in his work entitled "*La Vie et la Mort*," Louvain, 1838), with holding the doctrine of the sovereignty of the people. But how unfounded is such a charge, the words in *Italics* may alone suffice to prove. The assertors of the sovereignty of the people, like the Protestant Sidney, Locke, Jurieu, or the modern infidel revolutionary school, of which Rousseau is

admit of contradiction; and it is well known, that it is precisely in this case of extreme tyranny mankind at another period acknowledged in the Pope powers which Bossuet refused him."—vol. ii. p. 120.

The author ably points out the abuse which the Abbé de la Mennais, since his deplorable fall, has made of the doctrines of St. Thomas, by perverting them to the support of his revolutionary opinions that have been proscribed by the Holy See.

"The theory of M. de la Mennais," says M. Balmes, "may be summed up in the following terms; Equality of nature among all men, and as necessary consequences thereof:—1. Equality of rights, comprising all political rights. 2. Injustice in every social and political organization that doth not establish this complete equality—an injustice existing in Europe and throughout the world. 3. Expediency and lawfulness of insurrection in order to destroy Governments, and to change the social organization. 4. Abolition of all government, as the ultimate term of human progress. (See the work entitled, 'Affaire de Rome.')

"The doctrine of St. Thomas on these points, may be reduced to the following heads: *Equality of nature between men*, that is to say, *equality of essence*; but by the side thereof, inequality in physical, moral and intellectual gifts; equality of all men before God, that is to say, equality of origin, in so far as all are created by God; equality of end, inasmuch as they are all created to enjoy God; equality of means, inasmuch as they are all redeemed by Jesus Christ, and they are capable of receiving all the graces of Jesus Christ; but by the side thereof, the inequalities, which it may please the Lord to establish in the gifts of grace and of glory. First, As to the equality of social and political rights; this equality is impossible, according to the holy Doctor. He proves on the con-

the chief representative, declare that the will of the nation, or even the majority, without regard to the injustice of the Prince, can of itself authorize his deposition. Suarez asserts that real and manifest tyranny can alone justify a nation's rising against its Sovereign. The Spanish theologian further maintains, that there are cases, where a Prince may duly and lawfully carry on hostilities against the mass of his seditious subjects;—a doctrine, that would be scouted by the defenders of popular sovereignty. When Suarez talks of the People giving political power, these words must be taken in connection with his whole system; for not like the revolutionary school, did he regard the people as the root of political authority, but merely as the channel of its transmission.

trary the legitimacy and the usefulness of certain hierarchical gradations; the respect due to those which are established by the laws; the necessity that some should command, and others obey; the obligation of living subject to the Government existing in one's country, whatever be its form; he evinces a preference for monarchical government. Secondly, *Injustice of all social and political organization, that doth not establish complete equality.* This proposition in the eyes of St. Thomas, is an error opposed to Reason and to Faith. Moreover, if it be true to say, that inequality founded on the very nature of man and of society is an effect and chastisement of sin, in all that this inequality may involve of injustice and hurtfulness, nevertheless the holy Doctor conceived, that this inequality would have still existed even in the state of innocence. Thirdly, *Expediency and lawfulness of insurrection in order to destroy Governments, and change the social organization.* *Erroneous and fatal opinion.* We must be subject to all legitimate Governments; it is fitting to endure with patience, even such as abuse their authority; we must exhaust all the means of prayer, counsel and remonstrance, before we have recourse to other means; we can resort to force only in very rare and extreme cases, and then only under many restrictions, as we shall elsewhere see. Fourthly, *Abolition of all Government, as the ultimate term of human progress.* Absurd proposition, impracticable dream. St. Thomas shows the necessity of a Government in every society of men. This necessity he establishes by arguments founded on the nature of man; by analogies drawn from the human body, and from the order of the universe. Government, he shows, existed even in the state of innocence.

"Such are the doctrines of the two Teachers. Reader, compare and judge. It is impossible for me to cite the texts of the holy Doctor; they would fill a volume. But if any reader is desirous of consulting them himself, let him read, besides the passages inserted in this volume, the whole opusculum entitled "*De Regimine Principum*," the Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, and those passages in the *Summa*, where the holy Doctor treats of the soul, of the creation of man, of the state of innocence, of angels and of their hierarchy, of original sin and its consequences, and above all, the valuable Treatise on Laws, as well as that on Justice, where he discusses the origin of the right of property, and of the right of punishment. After such a perusal, the reader will be convinced of the truth and exactness of all I have just advanced; he will see how wrong has been M. de la Mennais, when, to defend his errors, he has endeavoured to make illustrious writers, and saints whom we venerate on our altars, accomplices in his apostacy."—pp. 121-23, vol. iii.

The Abbé Spedalieri, an Italian divine of the last century, makes the just observation, that certainly the

kingly office is not superior in dignity to the papal; yet, all theologians, even those most zealous for the divine prerogatives of the Holy See, admit that a Pope, who, as a private individual, should by word or writing profess heresy, would incur the penalty of deposition. Now if the successor of the prince of the Apostles—the Vicar of Jesus Christ—could in an extreme case be deposed; why should a temporal potentate, whose dignity in its essence, origin, and end, is so inferior, be in no case subject to a like penalty? The analogy is perfect, and can admit of no contradiction.

M. Balmes ably points out the advantages of the temporal arbitration of the Pope in the middle ages; how it supported alike the rights of the prince, and the liberties of the people, and prevented, or happily terminated, conflicts between the sovereign and the subject.

Next follow the most masterly as well as interesting chapters in the present work, on the nature and character of the christian monarchy; but our space will not permit us to make more than two or three extracts. The author proves the superiority of the christian monarchy, even in its most defective state, to the heathen or the Mussulman despotism; he shows how its different elements, the kingly, the aristocratic, and the democratic powers, though they had not nearly attained the like development in the middle ages, were more or less happily blended in the different constitutions of that period. He then traces the causes of the preponderance of royalty at the close of the fifteenth century. The analysis which he makes of the constituent elements of monarchy is, on the whole, as just as it is profound; but we think he hardly attaches sufficient importance to aristocracy. This institution is more universal than loyalty itself; we find it more or less developed in every form of government, except in the republic in its last state of dissolution, or in little pastoral communities, like some in Switzerland, composed, as M. de Bonald says, of herdsmen and capuchins. And, indeed, M. Balmes owns that the existence of an intermediate class between the monarch and the people is a real necessity, acknowledged by all publicists, and founded on the very nature of things.

M. Balmes next shows how favourable has been the influence of the Catholic Church to the development of a sound democracy. Her doctrine touching the necessity of

a divine call to the clerical state, as well as the discipline of celibacy, prevented the formation of an hereditary priesthood, and thereby the institution of castes. This fact is acknowledged by M. Guizot himself.

What rapid strides the commonalty of the middle age made in commerce and industry, and what political importance it thereby acquired, is pointed out in the following passage :

"When Catholicism is represented to us as the enemy of the people, our adversaries are bound to name a single doctrine of the Church, that sanctions the abuses or the wrongs, from which the people had to suffer. We challenge them to show whether at the commencement of the sixteenth century, when Europe was still under the exclusive dominion of the Catholic Church, the Commonalty, (looking to the ordinary course of things), was not all that it could be. Doubtless it possessed not the wealth, which it has since acquired; nor was its knowledge so extensive as in modern times; but has its progress in these matters been due by any chance to Protestantism?....."

"What has given the strongest impulse to modern democracy by diminishing the preponderance of the aristocratic classes, has been the development of industry and commerce. I examine not what took place in Europe before the rise of Protestantism; but at the first glance I see, that, far from arresting the movement of democracy, the doctrines and institutions of the Catholic Church tended to favour it; since under their shadow and protection, industrial and mercantile interests obtained an extraordinary expansion.

"Every one knows the wonderful pitch of prosperity, which those interests had reached in Spain; and it would be an error to ascribe this state of things to the Moors. Catalonia, subject exclusively to Catholic influence, exhibited such activity, energy, and intelligence, in affairs of industry and commerce, that if irrefragable documents did not attest the fact, we should not credit the high degree of perfection to which it had brought trade and manufactures. Let us read "The Historical Memoirs on the Navy, the Commerce, and the Arts of the ancient City of Barcelona," by our celebrated countryman, Capmany; and we shall then feel proud of belonging to that Catalan nation, whose forefathers evinced such noble daring, never permitting others to outstrip them in the career of art and civilization.

"While this phenomenon was realized in the South of Europe, the Association of the Hanseatic cities, whose origin is lost in the night of the Middle Age, was created in the North. In time it became so powerful as to be able to measure its strength with that of kings. Its opulent factories, established on many points of

Europe, and favoured by advantageous privileges, raised this league to the rank of a real power. Not content with the influence it enjoyed in its own country, and in Sweden, Norway, and Denmark, it extended it even to England and to Russia. London and Novogorod admired the brilliant establishments of those bold merchants, who by means of their wealth, extorted exorbitant privileges, had their special magistrates, and constituted an independent state in the heart of foreign countries.

"In France, the industrial classes were organized in a manner better to resist the elements of dissolution to be found in their bosom; and it is precisely to a king venerated by the Church on her altars, we are indebted for this reform so prolific in results. The 'Ordinance for the trades of Paris,' powerfully favoured the rise of industry, by rendering it at once more moral and more intelligent; and whatever might be the abuses introduced into that organization, we cannot deny that Saint Lewis satisfied a great want, by regulating trades in a manner the best suited to the backward state of those times.

"And what shall we say of Italy, that then contained in its bosom the powerful Republics of Venice, Florence, Genoa, and Pisa? The magnitude to which commerce and industry had attained in that Peninsula, and the consequent development which the democratic element had there acquired, almost exceed belief. If the influence of the Catholic Church had been so oppressive—if the breath of the Roman Court had been fatal to the improvement of nations, would not those effects have been more deeply felt, where that influence was most proximate?"—pp. 151-53, vol. iii.

After analyzing the different elements of the Christian monarchy, M. Balmes shows how that monarchy is essentially of a mixed or temperate nature, and that amid all the diversity of national laws, customs, and manners, we everywhere find among the Catholic nations of the middle age a royalty more or less circumscribed by assemblies composed of the clergy, nobility, and third estate, that, under the name of Cortes, States-General, Parliaments, and Diets, vote the subsidies, and have a share in the passing of laws. He proves then how Protestantism destroyed the balance of power in the political constitution of the different states.

The preponderance which the force of circumstances had towards the close of the fifteenth century imparted to royalty, the Catholic clergy would by their influence have gradually diminished, but for the violent revolution that broke out in the following age. Many of the barriers against despotism which the Catholic Church had erected,

Protestantism utterly overturned; others it weakened and undermined. *The author proceeds to observe, that the rise of the Reformation was simultaneous with the establishment of absolutism in the countries where it triumphed, and in the Catholic countries over which it exercised an indirect influence.*

In the following passage, which must be our concluding extract, he ably demonstrates how the clergy was essentially the mediator between all classes, and how fatal to liberty has been the enfeeblement of its political power.

Speaking of the struggles between the different classes of society at the close of the fifteenth century, he says,

“Precisely at this period, the democratic element was in a situation full of hope, but at the same time encompassed with danger. In order to preserve its acquired influence, and augment its power, it was necessary for it to proceed with great caution and circumspection. Royal authority had already attained considerable strength; and as part of that strength had been obtained by its espousing the cause of the People in its disputes and struggles with the Nobility, Royalty then stood forward as the natural protector of popular interests. This title, doubtless, belonged to it with some truth; but it was not the less true that Kings could avail themselves of a like circumstance to stretch their prerogative beyond all limits, at the cost of the rights and liberties of the people.....

“The people then possessed many means of defence; but if it were isolated, and placed in opposition to the throne, those means would be found too weak to insure it the victory. Knowledge was no longer, indeed, the exclusive patrimony of any privileged class; but we must allow that it was not sufficiently powerful to create a public opinion, capable of controlling the affairs of State. The Press had already begun to put forth its fruits; but it was not developed in a way to impart to ideas that degree of mobility and rapidity, which they have acquired in subsequent times.....

“Thanks to the development of arts and trade, a new species of wealth was formed, which was necessarily to become the patrimony of the people: but those arts and that trade were yet in a state of infancy.....

“Looking to the course of things, and to the rise of Royalty on the ruins of Feudality, the only suitable way to repress the power of the Sovereign, until such time as the Democracy were sufficiently strong to extort respect, was the union of the Aristocracy with the People. But this coalition was not a thing easy to be obtained, since between the Aristocracy and the People there was so much rivalry and animosity—a rivalry which to a certain degree was inevitable, on account of the opposition of their respec-

tive interests. Yet we must remember that the Nobility was not the sole Aristocracy; there existed another still stronger and more powerful, to wit, the Clergy. The latter class had then all that influence and ascendancy, which moral united to material resources, afford. In fact, besides the religious character that rendered it respectable and venerable in the eyes of the People, it possessed withal abundant wealth, whereby on one side it was easy to win influence and command gratitude; and on the other to make itself feared by the great, and respected by monarchs. Now here was the capital error of Protestantism. To destroy at that moment the power of the Clergy, was to accelerate the complete victory of absolute power, leave the people without protection, the sovereign without a check, the aristocracy without a bond of union, without a principle of life; it was to prevent the three elements, the monarchical, the aristocratic, and the democratic, from duly blending in order to form the temperate Government, towards which almost all the nations of Europe seemed to tend."—pp. 183-84, vol. iii.

M. Balmes, in an admirable chapter, investigates the special and more immediate causes, that brought about the ruin of popular institutions in Spain. These he states to be, first, the precocious and unduly large development of those institutions; secondly, the formation of the Spanish people out of the successive reunion of very heterogeneous members, having all, too, institutions extremely popular; thirdly, the establishment of a central power in the midst of the provinces, where those forms were the most restricted, and where the royal authority was most dominant; fourthly, the excessive abundance of wealth, of power, and of glory, that then encompassed the Spanish nation, and lulled it to sleep in the arms of its prosperity; and fifthly, the military attitude of the Spanish monarchs at that critical period, when the contest between the Crown and the People was to be decided.

In his interesting development of this subject, it will be of course impossible for us to follow our author.

The concluding portion of his excellent work is devoted to a comparison of the intellectual influence of the Catholic and Protestant Churches. He proves the immense superiority of the services, which the former has rendered to mankind in the several departments of the fine arts, the belles Lettres, ancient philology, criticism, history, metaphysics, religious mysticism, and the philosophy of history.

In conclusion, we beg leave to recommend this valuable book to the earnest attention of our readers. Those Catholics especially, who from their circumstances and social position are called upon to ground themselves in the science of Christian Politics, cannot have a safer and more enlightened guide, than M. Balmes. The work is in an eminent degree a reproduction of that sterling old Spanish sense, of which, alas! so few traces had remained in our time. Literary productions of this kind never stand isolated—they are ever the tokens or forerunners of a regeneration of the public mind. Let us hope that this intellectual renovation may not be unaccompanied by a political regeneration for which our author, as a publicist, has already achieved so much. Let us hope that the golden opportunity lately presented to Spain, may not be lost through the frivolity of the present Court;—that in their revived love for the Catholic faith, and for the old free political institutions of their fathers, her noble people may find the clue to lead them out of the long labyrinth of factious intrigue and reactionary absolutism, and of democratic anarchy and military despotism, in which now for forty years it has been wandering.

ART. VIII.—*Journal in France in 1845 and 1848. With Letters from Italy in 1847, of things concerning the Church and Education.*
By THOMAS WILLIAM ALLIES, M.A., Rector of Launton, Oxon.
London, Longmans: 1849.

WE cannot but regard the publication of this important and interesting volume as one of the most remarkable facts of these remarkable times. Mr. Allies is the well-known author of a work in defence of the Anglican Church, which with not a few members of his communion is made, we believe, the ground, or the plea, for adhering to it. Certainly among those who have taken part in what used to be called the Oxford Movement, Mr. Allies may be esteemed a leader. His former work, whatever might be thought of its conclusions, is universally allowed to exhibit great marks of ability, and a very considerable amount of research upon the subject

to which it relates. Indeed, of those who have written in defence of Anglicanism, few have less reason to complain of hard treatment at the hands of English Catholics, and especially converts, than Mr. Allies. From whatever quarter his former book has been noticed, he has received, to the best of our knowledge, the most ample proofs of courtesy, consideration, and forbearance. It is therefore with some pain, as well as surprise, that we read the ungracious and ungenerous remarks upon English Catholics, and especially late converts, at page 298 of the volume before us. These remarks constitute one of the very few blots in this otherwise most candid and enlightened work. It is not right to say without proof or specification, that

"The moment they" (the converts) "had left us, it seemed their object to depreciate to the utmost the Church of Englandthey delight to condemn us *en masse* in the most harsh and insulting manner."—p. 298.

No single publication of converts that we can call to mind, is such as to justify this description, or excuse (if indeed any thing can excuse) this imputation of unworthy feelings; while in "Loss and Gain," for example, in articles which have appeared from time to time in this Review, and in publications to which the name of converts is attached, there are evidences not merely of a disposition to deal fairly with the Established Church, but of a real sympathy with many of its members and some of its principal institutions.* That which will in vain be sought from converts or any other Catholics, and which it would surely be most unreasonable to expect from them, is any allowance of the claim of the Church of England to be accounted an integral part of the great Catholic body. Upon this subject all the converts had of course made up their minds, before, at so painful a cost, they renounced the communion of their birth, education, friends, interests, and connexions. They did not *choose* the Catholic Church as mere matter of preference, but *submitted* to Her in order to save their souls. And since they have been her happy and devoted children, they have probably seen no reason to alter or

* We may instance especially some articles on "Education," in the *Rambler*, and a recent one on the "Plymouth Sisterhood," in the *Tablet*.

modify the conviction upon which they acted in the first instance. And now, having cleared away this obstruction to our good understanding and hearty sympathy with Mr. Allies, let us introduce our readers to his very interesting and delightful volume.

It records the impressions of two tours in France, the first made in 1845, in company with the Rev. C. Marriott, Fellow of Oriel, the second in 1848, with another friend whose name is not mentioned. The account of an excursion to the North of Italy in the intervening year 1847, is given in a Series of Letters to friends in England, chiefly from Mr. Allies himself. This part of the volume contains a most interesting description of a visit to the Addolorata and Estatica, the result of which was a full conviction on the minds of the whole party, of the miraculous nature of the phenomena apparent in those wonderful cases.

Not the least valuable portion of the work, is Mr. Marriott's journal, published with his permission. (p. 11.) It is denoted by the initial M., and in the fulness of its testimony of the high state of the Church in France, and in the extent of its admissions on the subject of Catholic (by which of course we mean Roman) doctrine, does not appear to us to come at all short of Mr. Allies's own avowals.

"I am," (says Mr. Marriott,) "fully convinced, that neither the worship of Saints, nor the use of Images, nor the withholding of the Cup, at all affect the life of the Roman Church. What I have seen, has led me to reflect bitterly on Mr. Bowdler's, '*Quid Romæ faciam.*' The answer is—*all that you try in vain to do in England.* For in sober truth he has only told us that *what exists here in practice, exists with us in theory.* However, I agree with him, that it is a duty to put it in practice at home. But how to get ecclesiastics to live in primitive brotherhood, and in primitive poverty? How to bring people to confession? How to induce candidates for holy orders to submit to education? How to get the opportunity of restoring the daily Sacrifice? How to warm our churches with devotion?.....These are questions to which he has supplied no answer, and the answer is not easy. It requires every allowance.....to hope that we are not, even in comparison with the French, a fallen people."—p. 108.

The following, also from Mr. Marriott, is remarkable as proving the instinctive confidence with which he turns to the See of Rome, as an authority on doctrine, and a war-

rant for practice. Speaking of a Conference at which he was present at the House of the Vincentians at Paris, he says—

"They conclude the meeting with short prayers, in which, by-the-by, there occurs an invocation of the Blessed Virgin, which all repeat aloud, and *which I did not like to repeat with them*, being the one I mentioned some time ago, as *not fully approved at Rome*."—p. 62.

Are we not then justified in concluding that in devotions to our Blessed Lady, which have received the distinct sanction of the Holy See, (such, for example, as the Litany of Loretto), Mr. Marriott found no difficulty in joining? It is curious that this sentence in Mr. Marriott's journal should have been written just eleven days after the "Claim to hold, as distinct from teaching, all Roman doctrine," was condemned, *nemine dissente*, by the only tribunal which can fairly be considered to represent the Church of England on points of faith and discipline; that very tribunal to which, as we write, Anglicans are eagerly looking for a decision on the subject of Baptism. We own that we can see no alternative in honesty between the course of publicly protesting against that sentence, and the course of strictly abiding by it.

Mr. Allies again is able to justify to himself the declaration that the change implied in Transubstantiation, "is repugnant to God's Word, and overthroweth the nature of a Sacrament,"* with the publication (which must be held equivalent to the *teaching*) of the following sentiment.

"I said as to that, there were really only two Ideas on the Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist: the one was a real, true, Objective Presence of our Lord's Body and Blood; and the other no true Presence at all, but an impression produced by faith in the individual," (vide Article. 'And the means whereby, &c., is Faith'), "a commemoration, or what not. *If we agreed, as we did, with the Church of Rome in the former view, it was better not to fight about the mode in which she has stated it, her real intent being to force a shuffling and evasive party to accept or reject the truth distinctly.*"—p. 51.

In the next sentence, Mr. A. says that the Church of

* The XXXIX Articles.

England "rejects the definition of Rome." The question then is, does *he*?

Again, what Invocations can the Church of England be conceived to repudiate, if she allow her ministers to say, in the face of the world,—

"May not we ask you, who dwell in the sight of the Eternal Throne.....to turn your regards on us, to *intercede for us* before Him, &c."*—p. 335.

Is Mr. Allies here putting his question to the blessed Saints, or to his bishop? Upon this we imagine depends the answer to it. It will be seen that, in the course of the volume, he justifies direct invocation of the Saints.

Once more; that a minister of the Church of England may hold an abstract opinion in favour of the Adorable Sacrifice of the Mass, consistently with subscription to the Articles, we might possibly have been inclined, but for the judgment of her living authorities to the contrary, to admit. That any clergyman of that Communion, however, can fairly be regarded as her dutiful son, who during a visit to the Continent, of many weeks, *habitually* assists at Mass, as one of the worshipping body, *and that even when service is going on at his own chapel*, (p. 90), we must take leave to doubt. The reason assigned by our travellers for absenting themselves from their own service, (i. e., that there was "no communion,") would keep a man from church in some places on all but four days in the year. The fear of giving scandal to the devout members of their own church, does not seem to have crossed their minds. The entry strikes us as altogether a very curious one.

"Sunday, July 20th. I gave up the attempt to go to Bishop Luscombe's chapel, as there was no communion. Heard High Mass at La Madelaine. *The music very good, and the dresses splendid. Not more than an hour.*"—p. 90.

Certainly, this account does not convey to us the idea of a very devotional act of worship. The reader will thus gain some notion of the way in which Mr. Allies and his

* The *Guardian*, (of Feb. 28), in its peculiar manner, calls this invocation "bad taste." Surely if it be good theology, its taste is unimpeachable, or rather its sentiment and language very beautiful.

friends surrendered themselves with the most unsuspecting freedom to the powerful influences of Catholicism; powerful even in a country where the Church comes forth so little into public view, as revolutionary France.

In what light Mr. Allies regards the Church to which he is attached by the ties, not of mere membership, but of ministerial obligation, will appear from a few extracts which we shall now proceed to make. Having "cleared the Church of England of schism," he would almost seem to have felt that he had acquitted himself of his principal duty in her regard; and had earned the right of exposing to the whole world her utter inadequacy to the purposes she undertakes to fulfil.

"M. Galais asked, whether as careful a guard was kept (with us) over young men preparing for orders, as with them; on which point *we were ashamed to answer.*"—p. 72.

"Everything I see impresses on me more and more our own need of a complete renovation and restoration, if we would rise, as a communion, to be a *reality, and not a sham.*"—p. 120.

"For want of this" (the full recognition of the Aseptic and Monastic Life) "all our great institutions, whether for the maintenance of learning, or the direction of youth, or the care of the sick, fail just where they ought to be strong. They have no *authority* in the world, its views, its principles, and measures rule in them as in ordinary life, and the reason why is, that the very life which alone is above the world, its wants, and its measures, is *excluded and condemned.* We have men, we have minds, we have money; but *how are we to get back principles which we have in practice given up? The undervaluing Celibacy, the not possessing Religious Orders, seems a system of Christianity without the Cross.*"—p. 120.

"*What a horrible thing that we should be practically taught that the system which produces these men is such a corruption, that it is but a step removed, if removed at all, from idolatry!*"—p. 236.

"If it" (the Doctrine of the Real Presence) "*be God's Truth,...* in what state is a branch of the Church of Christ which *utterly neglects this truth* in practice, and allows it with impunity to be denied, and derided, and calumniated? Whose children from their infancy have scarcely ever heard of it! Whose full-grown men turn from it in all the hardihood of rebellious manhood! And if it be what it is, either Divine Power, or diabolical deceit, *can that be at once the Gospel which has it and has it not?*"—pp. 338, 339.

"Not one Anglican priest in a hundred has ever been called to receive a confession, or unfold the terms of reconciliation to a guilty soul. Indeed, so much is this the case, that the notion of a priest in most parishes is extinct; it is the minister and the preacher who have taken his place. Again, in the one Church, a

compact body of doctrine and a line of preaching are set forth in the catechism ad parochos ; in the other it frequently happens that *two adjoining priests are at issue on the very first principles of Christian doctrine* ; whether, for instance, there be, or be not, a Christian priesthood ; whether there be, or be not, grace in the Sacraments. Again, in the one Church, for the more devoted spirits, Religious Orders and the counsels of perfection exist, and Celibacy is the condition of all superior spiritual vocations ; in the other, it is yet in practice doubtful whether counsels of perfection are not suggestions of the Evil One, and whether the putting forth of Celibacy as meritorious be not an infringement of the One Sacrifice offered on the Cross.

"Are our Universities at present a fit school for preparing men for a life of the utmost patience, self-denial, and humiliation ? Is the sacerdotal type confessed there at all ? Is it not precisely there that moral control is relaxed, and habits of indulgence are commonly introduced ? Is there any attempt made to form the inward life, and discern a man's vocation ? Oh, is it not the severest censure of our Universities even to mention such things ! And without any special training, without any knowledge of his inward state, the young man who has been accustomed to unrestrained company, to studies almost exclusively classical and mathematical, to every kind of worldly amusement and sport, or to travel at the time of life most perilous to innocence, *is taken and made a priest of*, and sent to the 'Cure of Souls' in a parish. *Can any state of deeper practical corruption than this be well imagined ? or any system more thoroughly opposed to that pursued in the Church which is proverbially mentioned among us as corrupt ?*"—pp. 352-3.

What any one among ourselves, whether of older or younger standing in the Church, has ever said of the Anglican communion severer than all this, we think it would be difficult to show ; indeed, we know of few converts who would not feel the account of the University in the last quotation exaggerated. It seems to us that the radical mistake of Mr. Allies, is that of expecting the Church of England to act above her powers and beside her office. This makes him unfair towards the real good which exists among her members. It is hard to call on men to make bricks without straw, or to bring forth grapes from brambles.

But we gladly turn to a pleasanter topic. Cordially do we thank Mr. Allies for his able and effective defence of the Church and her institutions. He has traced her influence to its true source, the power of a Divine Presence inhabiting her, and diffusing Itself through all parts

of the mystical Body of Christ. To our mind there is no single writer of the high-church school (except one) who, before conversion, has been favoured with so deep, and (looking to the responsibilities of such a power, we will add) so awful an insight into the true character of the Catholic Church, the relation of her great doctrines to one another, and their bearing upon her outward and inward life. It would be easy to make this assertion good by numerous extracts; our limits forbid us to do more than illustrate it by two or three brilliant passages. The following is not less true than powerfully expressed :

“ In the meantime, I am greatly struck with the power exercised in the Roman Church by the great dogma of the Real Presence. It is the centre and life of the whole. It is the secret support of the priest's painful, self-denying mission ; by it mainly the religious orders maintain themselves ; the warmest, deepest, lowliest, most triumphant and enraptured feelings surround it ; the nun that adores in silence for hours together, one from the other taking up that solitary, awful watch in the immediate presence of the King of Kings ; the crowd of worshippers that kneel at the blessed yet fearful moment, when earth and heaven are united by the coming down of the mystical Bridegroom into the Tabernacle of His Church ; the pious soul that not once or twice, but many times during the day, humbles itself before Him ; the congregations which close the day by their direct homage to Him, as present in the three-fold nature of man, body, soul, and spirit ; all these attest the deep, practical import which the dogma of the Real Presence exerts on the Catholic mind. Are not their churches holier to the believing soul, than was the Temple of Jerusalem when the visible glory of the Lord descended on it ? For does not the single lamp burning before the shrine, indicate a Presence inexpressibly more condescending, gracious, and exalting to man ? In Catholic countries the offering of direct adoration, the contemplation of the mind absorbed in the abyss of the Incarnation, never ceases one instant of the day or night. It is the response of the redeemed heart for ever making to Him, ‘ Who when He took upon Him to deliver man, did not abhor the Virgin's womb.’ When I contrast this with—what is still too common in this country, though happily growing less so daily—the beggarly deal or oak table, covered with worm-eaten cloth, or left bare in its misery—with the deserted or pew-encumbered chancel, from which every feeling of reverence seems for ages to have departed ; or with the pert enclosure, domineered over by reading-desk and pulpit, and commanded all round by galleries ; and on which, perhaps once a month, the highest mystery of the faith is commemorated among us, *I do not wonder at the Roman Catholic, who regards the English*

Church as a sheer apostacy, a recoil from all that is controlling, ennobling, and transcendental in faith, to a blank gulf of unbelief.

"The very existence of the Roman priest, the compensation for all he does or suffers, depends on that half-hour of the day when he meets his Lord. What an inexpressible privilege to have been preserved to, nay, almost enjoined upon, all her ministers. And how could the monk and the nun live but on the continual food of the holy Eucharist, and the steadfast contemplation of the Incarnation? England has banished the monk and the nun, and popularly, in spite of her formularies, accounts the priesthood more than half a heresy; she has no provision among her institutions for the Christian Brother and the Sister of Charity, though her poor are perishing for lack of the Bread of heaven, and her sick dying in uninstructed heathenism, and her young carried about with every blast of doctrine, ever learning and never coming to the knowledge of the Truth. And together with those self-denying Orders, which bear witness to the exuberant life welling forth out of the depth of the Church of Christ, England (?) has banished the dogma of the Real Presence, not indeed from her theory, but still from being that vital and pervading practical truth which should animate and reward the labours of every day, and turn into consolation all the sorrows of humanity."—p. 331-4.

Again, on the subject of Sacramental Confession:

"A concomitant of the true doctrine of the priesthood, is that system of confession which is the nerve and sinew of religion in Catholic countries. The English prayer-book says of every individual priest, 'Whose sins thou dost forgive, they are forgiven; and whose sins thou dost retain, they are retained.' Here is the whole Catholic doctrine stated. Now this the Roman Church not only says, but acts upon. *And its strength lies, accordingly not in anything that meets the eye,—gorgeous cope, or chasuble or procession, or majestic ceremonies symbolizing awful doctrines; not in anything that meets the ear, whether chanted psalm, or litany, or sermon touching the feelings, or subduing the understanding; though all these it has, its strength lies deeper in the hidden tribunal of conscience.* The good Christian is not he who attends mass or sermon, but he who keeps his conscience clear from the attacks of sin; who, overtaken in a fault, has straightway indignation upon himself, and submits himself to the discipline which Christ has appointed for restoring him. The efficacy of the pastor must entirely depend on the knowledge of his people's state, and his power to correct their sins, and to guide them in their penitence. How he can possibly have this knowledge or power, or guide them at all without special confession, I see not; nor how he can ever exercise the power conveyed to him at his ordination, and lodged by Christ in His Church for ever. This is the true

bond between the pastor and his flock : the true maintenance of discipline, and instrument of restoration. Accordingly, in Catholic countries we see the priest truly respected, cherished, and obeyed *by his flock*, however much he may earn the dislike and suspicion of the worldly and unconverted. In Protestant countries we see the pastoral office a nonentity ; the shepherd of his flock is virtually the preacher of sermons. He knows the plague is ravaging them, but they will not bear the touch of his hand ; he must see them perish, one by one, but they will not let him help them : when mortification has begun, then he is called in to witness a hopeless dissolution, or to speak, 'Peace, peace,' where there is no peace."—pp. 336-8.

The following is remarkable from a writer who has disputed the claim of Papal jurisdiction :

"If we take the Roman Communion merely as a fact, (like the British monarchy,) is it too much to say that no work of art, no discovery of genius, no scheme of philosophy,.....no history of human deeds in doing and suffering, &c., is so worthy of patient thought and humble consideration as is that Communion? The following are a few of the reasons :.....1. *The Roman Catholic Hierarchy depends on the Pope as its centre of Unity, and as the divinely appointed Head of the Church on earth.* From him all its bishops receive canonical institution, i. e., the grant of spiritual jurisdiction. Accordingly they sign themselves bishops 'by the mercy of God and the favour of the Holy Apostolic See.' What, then, is their number," &c.—p. 357.

And all this without a word of protest.

Mr. Allies, although on the continent a comparatively short time, appears to have made up in diligence of enquiry and opportunity of information what he may be thought to have wanted in length of trial. A person whose heart and soul are in his subject may do much in a short time, especially in foreign travelling. The Table d'Hôte, the Diligence, the morning visit, and the evening stroll,—all will be turned to account. And if it be objected, that Mr. Allies was evidently under a bias in favour of the Catholic Church, let it be remembered that no person has zeal enough to pursue enquiries with real effect, who has not also a wish that they may end in a certain way. Moreover, Mr. Allies had advantages for his purpose far beyond the lot of common travellers. To unbounded interest and intelligent discrimination, he added a thorough knowledge of the French and Italian languages,

and an access to the very best channels of information. He is a good theologian, a first-rate scholar, and (in spite of using invocations) a man of highly cultivated taste. He had also the benefit of the best introductions in France; he was the acceptable visitor of Lacordaire and Ravignan, he conversed with the Abbé Guéranger and the Cte. Montalembert; he was placed at the right hand of Archbishops, and was even honoured on one occasion with a seat in the choir. Moreover, he appears to have spent the greater part of every day in visiting churches and ecclesiastical institutions, and in conversing with all the most distinguished of the parochial clergy of Paris. To these advantages he appears to add a thorough knowledge of ecclesiastical architecture, and as good an acquaintance as a Protestant can easily possess with the ritual of our religion. Such a man may form a more correct idea of the state of the Church in six weeks, than most of our educated countrymen in as many years. That an institution can be otherwise than most active in the discharge of its office, which presented itself to the eyes of such a traveller in that almost uniformly favourable light, in which the Catholic Church appeared to Mr. Allies, we consider it mere prejudice to question. Things and people cannot put on a holiday dress, or a company face, all in a moment, and all at once. Where priests are surprised at the altar, or in the confessional, at break of day, with well-filled churches and devout communicants; where holy brothers are discovered at office, or in meditation, or performing menial works; holy sisters teaching poor children, or tending the sick, or comforting the penitent, we may depend upon it that deception is out of the question—such things indicate an habitual regularity and a settled system; what is seen to-day might have been seen yesterday, and will be seen to-morrow. Could any communion but the Catholic stand such an ordeal? But so it is; they who quietly and habitually do their duty, edify when they least aim at it. How many an enquiring mind will be instructed in the way of salvation, how many a fainting heart cheered in its struggle with the world, by such a record as the following—so simple, and yet so forcible!

“As I entered the Cathedral,” (of St. Mark at Venice,) “just before five, I found a good many people, mostly of the poorer class,

already there. At five a priest entered, and began communicating people, before the rails of the altar in the transept..... When I came down an hour after, I saw a much larger number, and after celebrating Mass, he began communicating a fresh set. In this way a great number can receive in a morning, at different altars, without much waiting. This is going on without intermission, till the High Mass at eleven. *It certainly looks to me very much like reality.*"—p. 170.

Generous, however, and large-minded as Mr. Allies is, in comparison with other members of his school, there is yet one point on which we grieve to observe, that he does not rise at all above them. He either knows, or may know, that there is a Church in England essentially the same with that of France and Italy; wherein, as there, the Holy Sacrifice is offered daily, and more than once a-day, on multitudes of altars; the Sacrament of Penance regularly administered to thousands of sickly souls; whose Priests are continually traversing the obscure courts and alleys of our great cities, bearing the Holiest in their bosoms, and full of love to Him in their hearts; where the poor are "satisfied," not once a month or a quarter, but *daily*, with the "Bread that cometh down from heaven;" whose clergy are educated for their sacred functions in the same course of hardy discipline and with the same estrangement from the follies and vices of the world, which Mr. Allies has so powerfully contrasted, as seen in the foreign Churches, with the habits and circumstances of his own Communion. The very same devotions at which he assisted with so much delight on the further side of the Channel, are continually going on around him; the same institutions are represented in England, and still more in Ireland—Sisterhoods of Mercy, Brotherhoods of Christian Doctrine; holy communities, of which some maintain the perpetual adoration of our Lord manifest on earth, while others the while are tending the orphan, or instructing the ignorant, or sheltering the destitute, or reclaiming the wanderer. He knows, too, or may know, that *this* communion it is, and not that by law established, or any section of it, which the Churches of the continent acknowledge as bone of their bone and flesh of their flesh; that, for example, at the very time last year when he and his friends were practising, in whatever good faith, upon the simplicity of their continental neighbours, and calling themselves "Catholics," and proposing terms of recon-

ciliation between the "Churches," and bewailing the spiritual darkness of their own country, as though she had no light within her but that sickly and cheating fire which is leading her people without object over moor and marsh, France, and Belgium, and Germany, were represented in the person of their prelates and priests at a memorable solemnity in this very metropolis. Holy Affre himself, the martyr of charity, had been here with others, but for the troubles of his Church and nation, which demanded his counsels, and in the end cost him his precious life. And where had *he* worshipped, and with whom had he consorted, had it been allowed him to visit our shores? And where were *they* to be seen as worshippers—those prelates, few in number, but illustrious for their ecclesiastical virtues—whom alone distracted France could spare as the specimens of her choice hierarchy, and the pledges of her good will towards us? Not at the ancient and once Catholic Abbey of St. Peter were they to be found, except, it might be, as mere spectators, mourning over its desolation, or snatching a moment's relief from the showman to say their hurried prayer at the shrine of St. Edward; but at another and not far distant temple of the Living God, which the friends of Mr. Allies are forced, in consistency with the paper theory—to which he, too, is for the present bound—to designate a "*Chapel*."*

In short, we could have wished to find Mr. Allies speaking out upon the Roman Church in England. Does he hold it a schismatical intruder, or a member of the great Catholic community, one with the Church of France and Italy? If the latter, why *ignore* our very existence? If the former, is he prepared to maintain among his foreign friends, that the only Communion which *they* recognise in England, is in his judgment, divided from the Body of Christ, and will he involve accordingly in a charge of mortal sin, all those bishops and priests of France and Belgium, who, when they cross the Channel, deliberately communicate, not with the Anglican Church, but with us? This is one of the many difficulties of a theory which has no existence out of documents. This evasion of our claims, we will add, is the

* See the "Guardian" of July 12th, 1848, in an article on St. George's.

more remarkable in one who seriously hopes to promote a union of the Anglican Church with the Catholic. There must be something strange and unnatural indeed in a state of circumstances which precludes an honest and truth-seeking inquirer into the working of the Catholic system, from making himself acquainted with its actual operations in his own country. Mr. Allies enters into a detail of rites which are of every day occurrence among ourselves, (such as the Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament, or the mode of giving Communion out of Mass), almost as if they were mere foreign peculiarities! Yet there are Priests, more than one in the London District, who could bear their testimony from experience to the good discipline of the Seminary of St. Sulpice; there is a College within thirty miles of the metropolis, where Mr. Allies might witness the action of precisely the same principles in ecclesiastical training, which so justly excite his admiration in the foreign Colleges. And we question whether in any part of Catholic Europe the influence of the Church upon the destitute and uneducated classes is more strikingly exhibited than at St. Wilfrid's, at Birmingham, and in a part of London; places all of them quite accessible to observation, and presenting what should be features of peculiar interest in the eyes of an Oxonian. But it is not among the destitute and ignorant alone that the Church is doing her work, however partially and imperfectly, among us. At Dublin or Liverpool, and especially at Birmingham, Mr. Allies may see Houses of Charity and Mercy, a Catholic Penitentiary at Hammersmith, Hospitals under the care of Religious at Dublin; while all the great Missionary Orders of the Catholic Church have their affiliations in England. In Lancashire, for instance, may be seen that marvellous image of the apostolic life, that reflection and counterpart of the heavenly ministry, the Noviciate of the Company of Jesus; at Clapham, among the Fathers of our Holy Redeemer, the Life of blessed Alphonsus Liguori, the Saint of our own days, is mirrored in his already illustrious Order; while at Hampstead, or Aston in Staffordshire, or in the wold of Gloucestershire, or the forest of Charnwood, are to be found Catholic Monks, who rise at dead of night to sing their Matin Office, and labour in the sweat of their brow, and do works which our servants would disdain, albeit some among them are of gentle and

even of noble birth; and scourge themselves even to blood that they may tame the pride of flesh and get some real part in the Passion of their Lord.

On the other hand, the striking fact about Mr. Allies's testimony to the state of the *foreign* Churches is, that it is so generous, hearty, and loving. There are things abroad at which we can well understand our countrymen being pained or even shocked, without over-fastidiousness; but Mr. Allies seems almost to have anticipated the loyalty of faith. Even where displeased he is diffident, and more than once by the use of some qualifying particle or phrase, both he and his friend, Mr. Marriott, leave themselves an opening for the results of a larger experience and the conclusions of a maturer judgment. This sanguine, confiding, and affectionate spirit it is which, next to his ardent loyalty towards our Blessed Lady, gives us the best hope of our author's speedy conversion to the Catholic Faith. This spirit it is, which makes a man a Catholic, and makes him happy when he is one.

We must not, however, be understood to question that Mr. Allies has still a great deal to learn before he can be a thorough Catholic, even in spirit. He wants that which the grace of the Sacraments can alone give him. Acute and intelligent as he is, there are principles of the Church which he has not yet mastered. For example, when he comes to understand *by experience* the place which our Blessed Lady holds in the Church, he will never stumble at the *principle* of St. Buonaventure's Psalter, whatever he may think about the expediency of calling it from its present merely documentary existence into popular use. Again, he will not, we think, be disposed to acquiesce in the objection made by one whom he met abroad, to the honouring of blest Images, *as such*; their quasi-sacramental virtue, in certain cases, being manifestly implied in the Office for the Adoration of the Cross on Good Friday. There are questions upon which good men in the Church differ, and will differ to the end, and which are, of course, *in no sense de fide*; there are high views and low views among ourselves, as elsewhere, (though with us upon subordinate or practical matters alone,) and the difference between those who respectively embrace the one or the other class, is, in many cases, a merely intellectual one. Which side of the question Mr. Allies would take, were he a Catholic, we think too highly of his abilities to doubt for a

moment. That his foreign instructors and informants should often, as appears from his Journal, have found it difficult to *answer* his objections, or have answered them in an obviously incomplete way, neither surprises us, nor *alters our opinion upon the merits of the cause.*

Again, when Mr. Allies would have all the Mass said aloud with a view to edification (p. 343), and again, when he speaks (p. 169) in praise of certain arrangements in church, as if founded in the desire "of effect," he manifestly proves himself more of a Protestant than he is aware. *Worship, not edification, is the principle, the sole principle, upon which the service of the Mass is constructed; the impression of the people never comes into question, except negatively, in obliging a priest under pain of sin, to avoid disedification in his manner of celebrating. The Church holds that, if the ends of worship be consulted, those of edification may be left to themselves. Again, if Mr. Allies knew that the lights before the Blessed Sacrament, and during Mass, are binding under pain of grievous sin, he would feel how strange it must sound in Catholic ears to hear such things characterized as effective arrangements. (See p. 170.)*

And now the reader may naturally ask, why Mr. Allies is not already a Catholic? That he not only accepts the doctrines of the Church, one by one, as matter of intellectual conviction, but receives all the dogmatic teaching of Rome, *as such*, will be plain from the foregoing extracts. That as to all the proper offices of the Church—care of the poor, succour of the weak, relief of the perplexed, restoration of the penitent, instruction of the ignorant, maintenance of the true religion and worship of Almighty God—he regards the Catholic Church, and not his own communion, as the *actual* representative of our Blessed Lord on earth, is also unquestionable; and more than this, he has been the eye-witness of miracles in the Catholic Church, and is prepared to be their witness to others. All his loyalty is evidently pledged to Rome; of his own communion he speaks at best but in a tone of apology; giving her no more than decency demands of one who is professedly her member and minister. Why, then, is not Mr. Allies a Catholic? why does he not spring into the arms of his true Mother; and in her bosom seek that rest for his soul which our Lord has offered to all those who come to Him in faith and humility

of heart? As far as we can gather, he would answer as follows: Not being as yet intellectually satisfied that he is in schism, he is content to wait, in the hope of some great step on the part of his communion in the direction of the Catholic Church. He would hardly, as we apprehend, dignify such an approximation by the title of a "Union of Churches," nor reckon himself with those who

"Mortua jungbant corpora vivis,"

but would probably designate the object of his hopes and aims as a "reconciliation" with Rome on a large scale; involving such an accession to her body in number and weight, as might induce her (not to modify her teaching, but) to relax her present discipline, so far as England is concerned, in the matter of the Chalice, the use of the vernacular language, and (as we gather) the giving a more congregational character to the Canon of the Mass.

We should indeed be rejoiced to think that, in this hearty desire of restoration to the Roman communion, Mr. Allies might be regarded as the spokesman of any large body in the Establishment. What dispensations, in matters dispensable, the Church might be induced to grant to the unanimous wishes of a large number of converts, (some hundreds or thousands for instance), provided such dispensation were sought as a boon, and not stipulated for as a condition, we have of course no right to speculate; though we believe we are speaking the sentiments of all those who have as yet joined us from the Anglican Church, when we say that, far from desiring, they would very heartily deprecate, any modification of the existing discipline in the articles specified. And as to the secret recitation of the Canon, which is displeasing to Mr. Allies, it is one of those preceptive rubrics *in re gravissimâ*, which may be regarded as all but inviolable. But where, meanwhile, are the tokens of any such extensive yearning after Rome as could warrant in prudence, what nothing can warrant in duty, a holding back on the part of one who, as far as his own convictions go, is *prepared*, at any moment, to submit to her authority? What proofs are there of any agreement as to the *terms* of communion with Rome, even among those English churchmen (a comparatively small section) who are keenly alive to the *duty* of such communion? Facts look, it must be owned, very unpromising. Mr. Allies's own book, for instance, has been re-

ceived with anything but favour among the persons to whom if to any, he must look for sympathy in his views.* His own friends are the first to bear their witness against him. We have ourselves been in the way of hearing objections to our system, but never yet could we find any ten persons who could agree together as to what they really disliked, or really wanted. Does Mr. Allies seriously mean that there is anything like a *consensus* among a large number of persons as to the doctrines and authority of the Catholic Church? the dogma of Transubstantiation, for example, and the Devotion to our Blessed Lady; *ex voto* prayers, French modes of expression, and St. Buonaventure's Psalter excepted? Do none stumble at the received view of Indulgences? none at the Sacrifice of the Mass? none at the Merit of Good Works? And if doctrines present no difficulty, are there none who would desire further concessions in matters of discipline than would satisfy Mr. Allies? e. g., the relaxation of the clerical celibate? Yet from such, if such there be, is not Mr. A. far more divided in principle and spirit, than from us, taken even as we are?

Five or six years ago, this idea of a corporate "union with Rome," was nothing more than an amiable crotchet; illustrated, as it has been, by subsequent experience, it now hardly wears the appearance of a serious proposal. In every conceivable respect, the Establishment is less well circumstanced for anything like a formal negotiation with Rome in 1849 than in 1844. Even the ranks of Puseyism have lost, or are losing, their most zealous, at least their best inclined, members; some have drifted away towards German Rationalism, or downright Infidelity; some have settled down into common-place characters; some are subsiding into Evangelicalism; and one and all have palpably lost their sensitiveness to the importance of dogmatic Truth. Dr. Hampden's appointment, as Mr. Allies somewhere says, has done the Church of England much injury; and yet (since it was the occasion of a vigorous, though utterly powerless resistance) not so much perhaps as other appointments of a scarcely less pernicious, though less flagrant kind, which have passed *sub silentio*. The Establishment is groaning under state oppression; yet having no

* See a critique on it in the "*Guardian*" of Feb. 28th.

principle of solidity and centre of unity in itself, were it to throw off the protection of the state, it would go to pieces. The ultra-Puseyites and the ultra-Evangelicals alike desire independence of state control, but on such different principles, and with such different objects, that they will never combine to break their bonds. Meanwhile, as forms and ceremonies have developed within the Anglican Church, doctrine has shrivelled; or, as the tide of improvement has gained upon one shore, it has receded from another. Ceremonies, apart from the doctrines which give them life, are the mere beggarly elements of religion. On the other hand, what has Anglicanism done in the way of impression upon the Poor? But, perhaps, of all symptoms on the wrong side, the tone of the Puseyites in regard to English Catholics, and especially towards recent converts, is the most discouraging to the hopes of union. Ashamed to denounce us as schismatics, yet fearful of claiming us as allies, they adopt, almost without exception, the paltry course of affecting to despise us. Though aware that there is no cherished principle for which they are struggling—whether high devotion, or ascetic rule, or love of the poor, or tenderness to sinners, or ecclesiastical freedom, or holy awe—which does not find its witness and representation among us; their whole aim would yet seem to be that of depreciating, misrepresenting, and crushing us. And while the rank weeds of infidelity, rationalism, and all other kinds of diabolical philosophy, and heartless scepticism, and low secularity, are growing up apace on every side, the progress of our Holy Religion would seem to be their principal dread, and the hindrance of conversion to the Catholic Faith their most zealous aim. If, indeed, they hold that there is One Church, and that Church their own, let them say so, and their conduct will be intelligible. But it is neither intelligible nor right that they should, on the one hand, claim participation in all our graces, and, on the other, treat with a contemptuous indifference those whom, in theory, they allow to be true witnesses to the Cross. Of course, we do not here speak of social dealings, for which we do not look; but of the tone and temper of their acts and public writings. In this respect, there is a decided change for the worse since 1845.

And now, in conclusion, will Mr. Allies bear with a few words of friendly, nay, we will say, of affectionate warn-

ing? Should he ever have the happiness of going through one of those "Spiritual Retreats," the principle of which he so admires, one of the first meditations put before him will be founded on the text, "*Quid proderit homini si lucratur mundum totum et detrimentum animæ suæ faciat?*" If the Catholic Church be in the right, he is fatally in the wrong. Even the Church of England hold the necessary Faith, if Anglican orders be valid, he (unless invincibly ignorant) is cut off from the grace of the Sacraments; and what proof of the estimate in which those orders are practically regarded by the Catholic Church, can he desire more forcible than this plain fact,—that if the Archbishop of Canterbury were to become a Catholic to-morrow, and were in due time to "find a vocation for the Church," he would have to be initiated by the Tonsure into the Ecclesiastical state, and so ascend to the Priesthood by the several steps of the Minor Orders, Subdiaconate and Diaconate. Mr. Allies, again, received, in the course of his tour, a lesson on the effects of schism: "I enquired if the orthodox Greek Church (which he" (F. Lacordaire) "called schismatical) had no missions. He said, *It has neither missions nor schools; it is utterly dead. Its priests are profoundly ignorant. These people have sinned against the Holy Ghost.*"

—p. 206.

As it is with churches, so with individuals. Schism dries up the sources of all spiritual health. But, again, granting (for argument's sake) all which Mr. A. desires us to grant, is he certainly acting *bonâ fide*? Let the reply be sought in his own Journal. Why, then, so constant a repetition in the company of foreign priests, of the enquiry, "Am I safe?" What were those "two or three questions," the solution of which, could it have been gained, would have been worth passing a night in the cathedral of Milan? (p. 126.) And as to this very Journal, it is more like an implied answer to the position of his Essay, than an illustration of it. It appears before the world without preface, without apology, without more of explanatory remark than is necessary to prevent its being regarded as the work of an actual Roman Catholic. What can such a publication import? Can one who has gone so far recede? Can he ever regain the confidence of his superiors in the Church of England, and his footing as a sincere Anglican minister? We hold it impossible that

the several views of Catholicism and Anglicanism can long coexist, as the types of realities, in the mind. Will such intense interest in Rome as our author avows, reflect no cold hollowness on his professional duties? Is any range of sympathies wide enough to comprehend alike the white-robed choir of ecclesiastics and the parish-clerk "*Per omnia sæcula sæculorum*" and "Dearly beloved brethren," the celibate successor of St. Ambrose and the Anglican bishop in his honeymoon?

Mr. Allies is now just in the state of mind from which *some before him have emerged into the Catholic Church*, and others fallen into the depths of scepticism. God grant that he may speedily and resolutely make his choice on the right side! Our prayers shall not be wanting. This very day that we are writing a new fact has come out, awfully illustrative of the danger of trifling with Catholic emotions; not the first of its kind by many, but the first which, being public, is also available.

"The Nemesis of Faith" is avowedly written by the son of an amiable and accomplished dignitary of the Church of England, and the brother of that gifted young man who was the first to penetrate the depths of the great Tractarian movement. Like his brother, the author of this work, he was a distinguished member of Oxford; gained the Chancellor's Prize, and an open Fellowship. With all the more intellectual and high-minded spirits of his day, he became the deeply-interested hearer of Mr. Newman's Sermons at St. Mary's, and was also privileged to be one of his pupils at Oriel, and of course, therefore, his friend and companion. In 1844 he contributed one of the Lives of English Saints to Mr. Newman's Series. Soon after that time he gave symptoms of being bitten by German Rationalism, that hungry demon which is securing its victims unnoticed, among so many of those who started back from Catholicism, when Catholicism began to show itself as a way of the Cross, and not one of the many flower-strewn paths of Fancy. This young man was lost to our sight for two or three years; we knew about him only that he retained his fellowship of Exeter College. A few days since he was recalled to our memory as the author of the above-named work, wherein (it is true under the disguise of fiction, but still without any disclaimer or counteraction whatever) he publishes an open attack upon the inspiration of the Old

Testament. Such is the end (for the present) of one who, five years ago, was associated in the authorship of the *Lives of English Saints* with others who are now happily Catholics. How fearfully do our times illustrate the words, "*Duo erunt in agro; unus assumetur, et unus relinquetur.*"

To most of those who have received grace to enter the Church, the Truth has been made known, not in the way of sudden impression, but through a long course of "providences," singly open to misconstruction, but powerful in their accumulation, and uniform in their direction. Mr. Allies has probably enjoyed the same advantage; but, at any rate, he received one intimation which should have worn in his eyes no slight evidence of being a voice from heaven. He was permitted, as he tells us, in his travels, to see and to converse with one, in whom he considers himself to have witnessed the marks of Christ's suffering *Body palpably presented before him; and whom he* regards as specially raised up by our Lord to bear visible testimony to His Passion in an unbelieving age. Full at once of belief in the power of this highly-favoured Sufferer, and of commiseration for the spiritual woes of England, he addresses her in the words, "*Pray that England may be all Catholic.*"* *She, as if by intuition, or rather sudden inspiration, suspecting that there might be some deception lurking in the back ground, at once breaks forth into the memorable witness: "Yes, there is one only Roman Catholic Religion; apart from this it is forbidden to hope."*†

And this strange fact we learn upon the testimony, conjointly, of Mr. Allies and his companion. Can they have pondered it with all the humble attention it deserves?

* "*Prega che l'Inghilterra sia tutta Cattolica.*"

† "*Si; vi è una sola religione, Romana Cattolica: fuori di questa, non si deve aver speranza.*"

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

I.—*A Complete Gregorian Plain Chant Manual.* By the Rev. WILLIAM KELLY, M. Ap. L. D. 8vo. vol. i. London, Dublin, and Derby : Richardson and Son.

AMONG the many recent unequivocal evidences of the diffusion of a sound taste for ecclesiastical music, by far the most gratifying is the rapid multiplication of musical publications devoted exclusively to the Gregorian Chant. It is but a few years since we were entirely dependant upon the precarious supply of the foreign, and especially of the French and Belgian, markets. But at present, although the Belgian Plain Chant publications continue to meet a large sale in England, the number of books upon the subject which have appeared in these countries within the last three or four years, has been far beyond what, ten years back, even the most sanguine would have anticipated.

We have endeavoured to note from time to time the most interesting of these publications. The "Plain-Chant Manual," however, may be regarded as an attempt to comprise in one single work the most important features of all its predecessors. It aspires to take the place of not only the Gradual, the Vespéral, the Dirge-book, and the Processional, but also of many of the miscellaneous collections—as Litanies, Hymns, Motetts, and various pieces which are employed at Benediction, and in the minor services of the Church; and is intended to serve, at the same time, as a Grammar of Sacred Music. The plan, it will be seen, is a most comprehensive one. As yet but one-half has been accomplished, and it would, of course, be premature to speak definitively of the work as a whole; but we cannot help regarding even the present volume as a prodigy of cheapness. It contains above eight hundred octavo pages of closely-printed music, comprising Vespers, Complin, Lauds, the Offices of the Holy Week, the Office for the Dead, the Office of Benediction, six different Masses, and above two hundred pages of miscellaneous pieces.

If the second volume should prove at all in proportion with that which has now appeared, the "Plain-Chant Manual" will be at once the cheapest and the most comprehensive collection which has ever appeared in these countries.

II.—1. *A History of England, from the Accession of James II.* By THOMAS BABINGTON MACAULAY. Vols. i. ii. London: Longmans, 1849.

2. *Lyra Catholica; containing all the Breviary and Missal Hymns, with others from various sources.* Translated by EDWARD CASWALL, M. A. London: Burns, 1849.

We are compelled, most reluctantly, by want of space, to reserve for the next number our intended notices of both these publications.

III.—*The Legend of St. Ethelbert, King of the East Angles.* By WILLIAM BERNARD MAC CABB, Author of a "Catholic History of England." London, Dublin, and Derby: Richardson and Son.

"The Legend of St. Ethelbert" is sent forth as the forerunner of a series of biographies of the "Sainted Kings, Queens, and Princes of England," on the plan of the "Catholic History of England," noticed with much praise, several numbers since, in this Journal. "The plan pursued," we are informed in the Introduction, is in both cases the same:—

"The text consists of the words of the ancient author whose name is to be found appended to it; but a mere translation is not solely given, for wherever illustration or comment is required it is inserted, and in no case is either intruded without the authority on which it is propounded being fully stated.

"These old writers of English history are treated with the same respect which Oxford or Cambridge scholars would bestow upon an Herodotus, a Thucydides, or a Plutarch, if giving to the world an English translation of them, not in that case contenting themselves with a dry translation of the text, but explaining what to the unlearned might otherwise be obscure, and illustrating it by all the knowledge they possessed, and that might tend to render its perusal interesting to the reader."—pp. 8, 9.

We have read this charming old biography with much pleasure; and we trust most sincerely that its success may be such as to induce the zealous and indefatigable author to pursue the series.

IV.—*Hymns for the Use of the Schools and Congregation of St. Wilfrid's, Staffordshire.* By F. W. F. London, Dublin, and Derby: Richardson and Son, 1849.

This little book contains about a dozen religious hymns, *some of them translated from the Italian.* They are very beautiful and touching, and breathe a spirit of cheerfulness and love. We hope they are only an earnest of more from the same pen.

V.—*Funeral Oration on the Rev. William Richmond, delivered at his Solemn Requiem in St. Mary's Church, Brewood, November 16, 1848,* by W. B. ULLATHORNE, D.D., O.S.B. London: James Burns, 17, Portman Street, 1848.

The eloquence and holiness of Dr. Ullathorne's sermons are well known,—the subject of the present is a *Missionary Priest*, esteemed and beloved by thousands, and upon whose virtues the Bishop seems to have taken pleasure in dilating.

VI.—*Visits to the Shrines of our Lady. In seven parts. Compiled from French and Italian authors.* By EDWARD G. KIRWAN BROWNE. Richardson and Son, London, Dublin, and Derby.

THE form of devotion to our Blessed Lady, which it is the object of this little work to introduce to English Catholics, will, in general, be new and pleasing. Mr. Browne, *taking the seven principal festivals of our Lady, proposes to commemorate each day in their several octaves, by conducting the reader, in spirit, upon some one of the most celebrated pilgrimages dedicated to the Mother of God, on the continent, or elsewhere.* The little histories by means of which he does this, he has compiled from different French and Italian authors, and he gives in them an account, interspersed with devotional reflections, of the origin of the devotion entertained by the faithful for different sites; of the building and gradual enrichment of noble edifices; of the miracles worked in them; and, alas! in too many instances, of their decay, or ruin, and spoliation; of the churches converted into hay lofts, and the rich shrines, and other offerings of fervent gratitude and love, beaten up, dispersed, and plundered. These pilgrimages are exceedingly well done; many curious and interesting particulars have been collected, and descriptions given of beautiful and secluded spots, forgotten now, or only vener-

ated by the poor peasants in their neighbourhood. When completed, as we hope it will be, the work would be a delightful companion to a pious, (and if such a thing can now be found,) a leisurely traveller. This, the first volume, contains only the pilgrimages for the two first festivals of the Purification and the Annunciation.

VII.—*Maxims of Christian Perfection, adapted to every State and Condition.* From the Italian of the Very Reverend ANTONY ROSMINI, D.D., General of the Order of Charity, by a Member of the same Order. London, Dublin, and Derby: Richardson and Son, 1849.

This is a very admirable work, abounding in useful instruction. It lays down most clearly the sublime end of the christian's life, and the chief objects which it comprehends, together with the great practical rules for advancing towards it. Then follow a very full and systematic method of meditation, and rules for the general and particular examination of conscience. Lastly, the order in which petitions should be made to God, is regularly developed from the first principles already mentioned. Withal the book is not large, but within the means of the poorest.

VIII.—*The Weekly and Monthly Orthodox, a Catholic Journal of Correspondence and Literature.* London: Andrews, Little Britain; Brown, Manchester Square. Liverpool: Rockliffe and Sons.

We congratulate the Catholic public upon the appearance of this valuable and interesting little periodical. It is particularly well calculated to be a welcome visiter in every family that desires to combine innocent amusement with useful information. In this periodical we find a Catholic view taken of the passing events of the day, so far as those events bear upon the interests of religion, or of those who hold conspicuous rank in the church. Thus, in the January number of the *Orthodox*, his Holiness Pope Pius IX. is the hero; and the number is decorated, not only with a well-executed engraving of the Pontiff, but also an interesting picture of Gaeta, his place of refuge from the rebels, assassins, and infidels, who compelled him by their crimes to abandon the city of the Christian Empire.

The manner in which the *Orthodox* is brought out,

with beautiful initial letters to every important subject discussed in its pages;—its engravings, for instance, of *Greenstead church*, where the remains of *St. Edmund*, king and martyr, once rested, and of *St. George's church*, Southwark, as well as those we have already specified, along with the care bestowed in the editing, combine to make it a truly attractive publication. In one respect, *the Orthodox is superior to any periodical we have ever read*, and that is in the information contained in it as to the antiquities of the Catholic Church. The writer of this short notice has devoted no small portion of his time to the study of such antiquities, and he feels no hesitation in avowing that he has derived a great deal of instruction as to those antiquities, from the perusal of the *Orthodox*. As a specimen of the information so conveyed, we quote the following extracts:

THE DIPTYCHS:

"The diptychs were plates of iron or ivory, folded generally into three parts; upon the first of which were inscribed the names of great apostles, martyrs, and saints; upon the second, the names of those among the living who were illustrious for rank and piety; and upon the third, the names of those who had died in the communion of the church. The names upon the diptychs were read just before the commemoration of the living in the early ages of the church, but which practice was abandoned when the canon of the mass was said in secret."—p. 15.

OFFERINGS AT THE OFFERTORY:

"In the primitive ages nothing was offered or received which was not proper to be consumed at the altar.—*Apost. Const. Can. 3*. Afterwards this was further limited to bread and wine, and if anything else was offered, it was looked upon not as for the altar, but as gifts for the use of the church and her ministers. In the eleventh century, the author of the '*Gemma Animæ*' stated that money was given instead of bread and wine, because, the faithful not communicating so often, less bread was required; but he particularly mentions that the money which was given was expended either in relieving the poor, or in purchasing the necessaries required for the altar. *Cap. 5, 6.*"—p. 31.

GOSPEL-SIDE OF THE ALTAR:

"'W. X.' (a Cambridge Divine) reading in an old mass book, that the Gospel was to be read on the left-hand of the altar, wishes to be informed of the reason why in the present Roman Missal it is

commanded to be read on the right-hand. We feel happy in being able to assure him, that the practice of the Church in this respect has never changed, although the *verbal* explanation of that practice has materially done so. In all ancient rubricks and mass books the right-hand of the altar means the Epistle side, and the left-hand the Gospel side: the position being the right-hand and the left-hand of the officiating priest. Such was the custom until the fifteenth century, when, in the year 1485, a Pontifical was published in Venice, in which it was laid down, as a rule, that the right-hand and the left-hand of the altar were to be taken from the crucifix upon the altar. This rule has been observed in all rubricks ever since; so that the old rubricks commanding the Gospel to be read on the left hand, is practically the same with the injunction of modern rubricks commanding it to be read on the right-hand. Since the adoption of the new rule, the Roman rubrick, to avoid confusion, has deemed it indispensable to make an explanation: thus it says, '*Accedit ad cornu ejus sinistrum, id est, Epistolæ*;'—He goes to his left-hand, that is, to the Epistle side.—*Ritus. Celebr., Tit. 4-2.*"—p. 67.

Such extracts as these are but specimens of the learning and research to be found in the pages of the *Orthodox*. A perusal of its contents can alone give an adequate idea of the variety and agreeable matter to be met with in its pages; and of its "*Weekly Calendar*," we are bound to say it is a model which we would wish to see universally followed by all almanack-makers. The *Weekly and Monthly Orthodox* has our most hearty wishes for its success.

IX.—*A Catholic Catechism, methodically arranged for the Use of the Uninstructed.* Translated from the Italian of the Very Rev. Antonio Rosmini-Serbatì, D.D. Founder and General of the Institute of Charity, by the Rev. W. S. AGAR. Richardson and Son: London, Dublin, and Derby, 1849.

This is the production of one of the most remarkable men of Italy—of a writer whose publications have attracted towards him the attention of the Church in all parts of Christendom, and the founder of an Institute, "the Brothers of Charity," whose labours wherever they have been known, and whose productions wherever they have been read, have won for them admiration, gratitude, and respect. The founder of an Order, which gave to England such an apostolic preacher as the late Dr. Gentili, and that has nurtured such a man as Dr. Pagani, the author of the "*Anima Divota*," must be manifestly one who when he

concentrated his great mind, and penetrating intellect upon the production of "a Catechism for the use of the Uninstructed," could not but construct a work worthy of perusal by all classes, and by persons of every age; because in it, the reader was sure to find the most profound thoughts, conveyed in the most simple phraseology. Such a work is the little volume here before us, which in the short space contained in 213 pages, gives in the clearest, plainest, and most intelligible language, an explanation of all the great facts and mysteries of religion, beginning with the origin of man, and elucidating as it proceeds, the creation of the world, the creation of angels, the sin of man, the Saviour, the Trinity, the miracles of the Saviour, the Sacraments, the Church, the hearing of Mass, the fasts as well as the feasts of the Church, and the commemoration of the faithful departed,

To the English Catholic an additional recommendation will be found in the fact, that this book is dedicated by permission to the bishop of the Midland District, the Very Rev. Dr. Ullathorne.

X.—*The Spirit of Prayer.* A New Manual of Catholic Devotion. By a Member of the Ursuline Community, Cork. Cork: O'Brien, 1849.

"THE Spirit of Prayer" is intended to hold the same place for the devotional use of Catholics generally, which the Ursuline Manual has long and deservedly held for the young generation. The selection of prayers is exceedingly judicious; and the execution of the work reflects great credit on the taste and skill of the typographers of Cork, and on the spirit of its enterprising publisher.

XI.—*The Knight of the Faith.* London, Dublin, and Derby: Richardson and Son, 1849.

At a time when there are so many tracts scattered abroad by the Protestant sects, outdoing one another in ignorant or wilful misrepresentation of Catholic doctrines and practice, we rejoice to see so spirited and able an attempt made to counteract them as this cheap periodical seems to promise. Its first number sets forth a challenge which we think the wisest Anglicans would be puzzled to answer, viz.:—to show how the Church of England, or any other sect, can reasonably venture to teach and to

condemn, while they abjure all claim to infallibility. The succeeding numbers are devoted to the defence of the Church and the exposure of the errors of her antagonists.

XII.—*Presbytery Examined; an Essay, Critical and Historical, on the Ecclesiastical History of Scotland since the Reformation.* By the DUKE OF ARGYLL. London: Moxon, 1848.

THIS Essay, originally intended for publication in one of the Reviews, is one of the many books, chiefly of an ephemeral character, to which the Free Church controversy has given occasion.

We hope to find an opportunity of entering at some length into the history of this controversy, and the principles which it has tended to develop; and we shall reserve till that occasion our observations on his Grace of Argyll's volume.

XIII.—*Catechism for First Confession.* S.D.L. Richardson and Son, London, Dublin, and Derby.

This is a little book which we would wish to see in the hands of every Catholic child who speaks English. Small as its size, and low as it is in price, of what infinite value, might it not be the instrument, if every Protestant operative and labourer gave it but a single, and attentive perusal? It might be converted into an instrument of salvation for millions.

XIV.—*The Roman Ritual and its Canto Fermo compared with the Works of Modern Music, in point of efficiency and general fitness for the purposes of the Catholic Church.* By the Rev. HENRY FORMBY, Priest of the Central District. London: Burns.

This work, which forms a beautiful and readable little volume, contains an argument on a subject much debated in the present day, which, from the varied learning and the spirit of charity with which it is conducted, merits the candid and careful attention of all who really wish to form an honest opinion upon the subject discussed in it. The author has placed the point at issue on the only true and adequate ground that can lead to a solution satisfactory, we do not say to theologians only, but to ordinary fair and christian judgments. In the introductory chapter he has certainly expressed himself in philosophical language,

which may seem abstruse to the general reader ; who may however be assured that, while this may have been necessary to secure the foundation of the argument, he will find the discussion itself that follows eminently practical and interesting.

The author starts with laying down a common truth certainly, and yet, for all that, one much too little considered—that in all questions that practically concern the Catholic religion, which the debated question of music does most nearly, there is an opinion in heaven as well as upon earth. Here, then, the discussion is brought at once to its only true and intelligible issue. We have very many persons who earnestly desire to see the Plain Chant Music largely cultivated and studied. We have others opposed to this, who think the day of Plain Chant passed, and its revival a useless piece of antiquarianism. We have ourselves always consistently advocated the former view, regarding the latter opinion as savouring of the secular spirit, as favouring sensualism and dissipation, and, in a general way, as the enemy, and not the friend, of prayer and recollection. And now we meet with a work, which, in formal argument, maintains the position that the Divine Redeemer's desire is, that the Plain Chant should at all times, and in all nations, be held in honour, and be extensively cultivated with both science and devotion.

The argument is divided into ten sections, and may be shortly sketched as follows: God is Sovereign Lord, and the source of all authority, (1) music, therefore, in his kingdom must be under a ruling authority. Again, God displays system in all his works, (2) christian music therefore will show signs of system and order; (3) it will be of a sacrificial character; (4) it will be adapted for congregational use; (5) it will have a christian influence in the formation of character; (6) it will be a medium for divine truth passing among the people; (7) it will have a medicinal virtue, as the gift of the Divine Physician of souls; (8) it will have capacities for durable popularity; (9) it will be in many ways protected from the danger of abuse and perversion to profane purposes; (10) it will be catholic, i. e. it will have overspread the globe like the Faith itself.

On these points the comparison between the Plain Chant and modern Music is conducted with a fair, open, and practical style of reasoning; and the advocates of modern music are challenged to meet what the author

urges in the same fair and open manner. In chapter iii. are contained replies to most of the popular objections; and in chapter iv. are some temperate and judicious remarks on the subject of the increased study and attention which the author desires to see given to the Plain Chant; while much highly useful and interesting matter will be found collected in the appendix.

If this able and judicious work should not meet with a reply from some advocate of modern music, in the same fair and temperate spirit, (and we should deprecate a reply which showed signs of any other,) we shall take it as a sign that those who advocate the use of modern music abandon the province of argument, and are content with existing mediocrity as their standard; and, in the meantime, we highly recommend the work to all our readers, who will be repaid for their perusal by much that is entertaining as well as instructive.

XV.—*Principles of Protestantism, considered with a View to Unity.*
By the Author of "Proposals for Christian Union." London :
Darling, 1848.

THIS is the second and concluding volume of the series projected by this well-intentioned author. It is written in the same calm and conciliating spirit which we have had occasion to commend in its predecessors.

XVI.—*Thoughts on the Present State of Ireland*, by MONTAGUE GORE,
Esq. Ridgway : London, 1848.

This is another pamphlet advocating as the true cure for Ireland the development of her Industrial Resources. The object is to show how well Ireland is capable of repaying any assistance towards opening roads or railways, furnishing instruction on agriculture, cultivating waste lands, preparing peat charcoal in order to once more working the iron-mines, or making charts of the fisheries, and instructing the fishermen. It ends with urging something of the sort on England, as the only means of saving herself from the influx of Irish pauperism. We hope that from the frequent production of facts and suggestions of remedies, many useful measures may result.

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